20th March 1929]

Mr. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"May I know, Sir, if the permanent Collector, Mr. Leach, overlooked the claims of the Tahsildar on account of the reasons mentioned in clause (*a*)?"

The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS:—"It is stated in the answer itself 'the answer to the first part of the question is in the negative'."

Mr. ABDUL HAMEED KHAN:—"May I know, Sir, whether the present Collector, Mr. Appadurai Pillai, has absolutely no regard for the religious sentiments of other people?"

The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS:—"I am not aware of it, Sir."

Legislative

Postal concessions to M.L.C's.

*1801 *Q.*—Mr. J. A. SALDANHA: With reference to the answer to my question No. 1574, dated the 1st of March 1929, regarding postal concessions to members of the Legislative Council, will the hon. the Member for Revenue be pleased to place before the House the report of the House Committee and the recommendations made by the Government thereon to the Government of India and the reply, if any, received from the latter on the above subject?

A.—A copy of the resolution of the House Committee[a] is laid on the table. The Government do not propose to publish their letter to the Government of India before that Government replies. The Government of India have not yet replied.

Mr. P. ANJANEYULU:—"May I know, Sir, whether the Government have recommended to the Government of India in pursuance of the resolution of the House Committee?"

The hon. Sir NORMAN MARJORIBANKS:—"It is not usual to answer such questions when the matter is still under correspondence. I may say that they have."

II

MOTIONS ON THE BUDGET FOR 1929-30.

DEMAND XV—JAILS—*cont.*

*The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"The Council will now resume discussion on the Budget."

*Mr. A. B. SHETTY:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg leave to move

'that the allotment of Rs. 37,100 for Superintendence (Jails) be reduced by Rs. 100'

to discuss the reforms needed in the administration of jails and treatment of convicts.

"The present administration of jails in this Province has made notable advance in many directions, and many of the recommendations made by the Jails Committee have been adopted here. But criminal law and procedure and prison administration have not yet been reformed to the extent which

---

[a] Printed as Appendix II on page 507 infra.

TRUTH ALONE TRIUMPHS

[Mr. A. B. Shetty] [20th March 1929

Criminologists want. Our own Inspector-General of Prisons, Lt.-Col. Cameron, who, I am glad to note holds very advanced views in this matter, has said that 'Our present system is by no means ideal. There is much that can be done without undue expenditure of Public Funds to improve the prison administration in India on modern penological lines with the object of reducing crime'. He has made a number of suggestions in a note on the prevention and reduction of 'crime' regarding the most effective methods of dealing with different classes of convicts, long-term and short-term prisoners, youthful offenders and incorrigible habituals. A large number of our convict population in jails are first offenders with short sentences. In the latest year of which the Administration Report has been given to us, 12,933 sentences, that is, two-thirds of the total sentences passed, are of less than six months' duration. Of these 1,684 only were released on probation under section 562 of the Criminal Procedure Code. These people have to be under police supervision. What we want is that these released men should be under the charge of probation officers of the right sort. The Government cannot appoint such probation officers unless there is a Probation Act. Now this probation system is one of the most important measures of Prison Reform undertaken by civilized Governments and, as long ago as 1907, they passed the Probation Act in England. They have been making increasing use of it since then. In 1927, as many as 80,000 people were dealt with under this Act. In the Administration Reports, the Inspector-General of Prisons has been repeatedly emphasizing the necessity for passing a Probation Act on the lines of the English Act. If we had a Probation Act, a much larger number than 1,684 could have been given the benefit of it. A properly directed system of probation for first offenders with short sentences would save them from a life of crime and also save the Government the cost of putting them in jail. It is said the Government of India are contemplating legislation in this matter. I trust, Sir, that the hon. the Law Member will press on the attention of the Government the necessity for introducing legislation in this matter without any further delay.

"Next we shall consider the case of mental deficients. They are known as borderland cases. They are a troublesome lot. They are shunned by their relatives when let out of jail and they are incapable of earning their own livelihood and so they drift back to prison. In the opinion of our Inspector-General of Prisons, this class of convicts require permanent segregation and institutional treatment. I hope that the Law Member will pay attention to this matter also as early as possible. We want alienists to detect cases of this sort so that they may be segregated and treated in the way required.

11-15 a.m. "Then we have a class of habitual offenders who form as much as 20 per cent of our convict population. There is an incorrigible class among these and they are deterred neither by the fear of punishment nor can they be reformed by any means however earnest and well directed. They are a perpetual source of worry to the police; they are the despair of the courts; and they are a nuisance to the public.

"The present method of dealing with these convicts has been condemned by the Inspector-General again and again as puerile and unscientific. In many of the civilized countries they have adopted some system or other of preventive detention for dealing with this class and he has urged that we should similarly segregate these people permanently. It is no use letting

them loose on society by granting them remission for good conduct and releasing them until they are considered safe for society. In Burma it is said they have set apart an agricultural settlement on an island where these people would be encouraged to settle as self-supporters when they are released on ticket-of-leave. Our Government, in their order reviewing the administration report, agree with the Inspector-General that a proper method of dealing with this class of criminals will result in reducing professional crime, but they have not taken any steps in this direction. I trust, Sir, that the attention of the hon. the Law Member will be directed to this matter and that no time will be lost in providing a proper system to deal with this class of convicts so that we may bring down professional crime and protect the public from the confirmed recidivist in this province.

"Sir, no reformation of a convict is possible by any system however good and well-intentioned it may be, unless we have the proper sort of men to deal with the convicts in our jails. Our prison officials do not consider it usually their duty to reform the convicts and make them good citizens. They are there to do their daily routine of work, to exact work, to maintain discipline, and to see that there are as few escapes as possible. And for these things, they rely on rules and coercive procedure. There is very little of sympathetic human contact between the inmates of prisons and the prison officials. If the handling of crime is to be made scientific, as medicine and nursing have become, it is imperative that we should have in our jails trained men and women. The Inspector-General has stated that the men selected for service in our jails should undergo a preliminary course of training before they are appointed and the Conference of the Inspectors-General of Prisons held in Madras in 1925 was unanimously of opinion that a central training school should be opened attached to a central jail in each province. In Punjab the candidates undergo a preliminary training in jails and have to obtain a certificate from the Superintendent before they are considered eligible for the assistant jailors' posts. In the United Provinces also the candidates have to undergo six months' training. In Burma they have established a school for jails in 1926. Why should Madras lag behind in this matter when it has gone ahead of other provinces in many directions? We badly need a school for training the upper subordinates in our jails and in fact all jails officials have to be trained in up-to-date methods of penology. If our prisons are to achieve reformation, it is necessary, as I said, they should be manned by trained experts comparable to the staff of physicians and surgeons in hospitals.

"Lastly, Sir, I want to say a word about the after-care of released prisoners. It is no doubt true that we have the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society in Madras with its branches in many parts of the mufassal. This society with its homes for discharged prisoners, its probation officers is making fairly good progress. But the administration report says that out of 14,015 persons released during the year only 1,015 people applied for help from the Society. We cannot surely say that these aid societies are doing all we can in this matter. There is a good deal more to be done. An efficient system of aid to a discharged prisoner is essential for reducing crime and Government ought not to leave this work entirely to a non-official agency. They ought to encourage the establishment and functioning of these societies in the mufassal. They must see that their district officials take

interest in this work. Whenever possible they must give employment to ex-convicts so as to set an example to other employers of labour. Even in England where philanthropic bodies are carrying on this work in an efficient way, the Government are helping them to a much greater extent than in our province.

"Now to sum up what I have said, the four most essential measures necessary to reform our Jail administration are : (1) a properly directed system of probation for offenders of the less serious type ; (2) institutional treatment under expert supervision for people who offer some hope of reform ; (3) permanent segregation for incurables and degenerates who cannot be reclaimed at all ; and (4) an efficient system of aid for the released prisoners. I feel sure that if these reforms are carried out, they will result in reducing crime, in bringing down the population in our jails, in reducing our budget on police and jails and in making our jail administration a model for others to follow. Here is an opportunity for the hon. the Law Member to achieve lasting good name and do good to the country. Will he do it ?" (Mr. S. Satyamurti : He won't.)

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—(After a pause.) "The motion, not having been seconded, falls to the ground."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" Sir, I move—

'*to reduce the allotment of Rs.* 1,88,300 *for Presidency Jails by Rs.* 100'

in order to recommend the supply of khaddar clothing to convicts.

"I support my recommendation by three arguments. The first is that any money spent by this Government should wherever possible be spent for the benefit of the people of this country. My second argument is that white khaddar has now reached a standard of perfection and compares favourably in fineness and texture with the corresponding Indian mill-made cloth. And thirdly I say that the price of the kind of white cloth which is usually supplied to the convicts if it is made of khaddar will be exactly the same as mill-made white cloth in Madras. As a member of a committee of the Madras Corporation I had occasion recently to go into the prices of these cloths. The white four-thread khaddar, as it is called, costs exactly the same as mill-made white cloth here. On these three grounds I suggest to the hon. the Law Member to accept this motion and, if he does not, I ask the House to pass the cut."

Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" I second the motion."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" With reference to this, my hon. Friend Mr. Satyamurti the mover says that the price of khaddar cloth is not higher than that of mill-made cloth. My information is otherwise. I understand that khaddar is more costly than the ordinary cloth and less durable. But, inasmuch as my friend makes a definite assertion now, I will make further enquiries into the matter. As a matter of fact, when the cut motion was tabled, I made enquiries and the information given to me is, I submit, that this khaddar cloth is more costly and less durable. (Mr. S. Satyamurti : By whom ?) Then there is this further circumstance. We have recently erected in the jails in Coimbatore a machinery at a cost of Rs. 4,00,000 for the purpose of spinning. It is cloth manufactured in jails

that is supplied for uniform to the convicts as well as to some of the Government departments such as Excise, Police and so on. (Dr. B. S. Mallayya: 'Not for the Law Department?') Inasmuch as this costly machinery has been erected, it will be a great loss to the Government and to the tax-payer if that machine is not made use of for the purpose of spinning yarn. So far as the suggestion of my hon. Friend Mr. Satyamurti is concerned, I shall consider it."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"I am very sorry that the hon. the Law Member made a statement that the khaddar cloth is more costly and less durable than mill cloths. I may state, Sir, as one who is interested in mill cloth and as one who is using khaddar cloth that the cloth, if it is to be in fine texture, would cost a little more than mill-made cloth. But if people use fairly rough cloth like myself—I speak from experience—it is more durable. Taking the cost into consideration, I have no doubt that khaddar is cheaper than mill cloth, taking duration also into consideration. (Mr. W. P. A. Soundarapandiya Nadar: 'Not at all.') I am surprised to see the other (Ministerialist) side Whip challenging me. I would certainly admit my mistake if it could be proved. If my hon. Friend rises up there and says that he has at any time compared the two different cloths by using them, I shall agree with his opinion. I do not think that he has ever in his life used khaddar and therefore it certainly does not lie in his mouth to say anything about the use of khaddar cloth.

"The only one objection that can be raised—and reasonably too from the point of view of Government—is that in the jail in Coimbatore a costly power machinery has been recently erected. I am afraid my hon. Friend is a little wrong in saying that it was erected recently. The weaving mill has been in existence there for several years."

The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—"I referred to the spinning mill."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"The spinning mill began to work no doubt only a few days ago. There was great difficulty in appointing a proper driver for the engine and therefore work could not be commenced till very recently. With a very small number of spindles to run a factory is very costly. After all, that machinery is a very small one having only about 3,000 spindles. I do not think there will be any difficulty in disposing of this machinery and whatever objection there might be from persons interested in these industries to Government running power factories would all be removed by doing it.

"There is an advantage in having khaddar manufactured in jails. Many convicts working in the jail at Coimbatore have to work in this factory and the general complaint is that the time allotted for work of the ordinary prisoners and work on the machinery is the same. That is a little hard.

"I am sure the hon. the Law Member will look into this question. I do 11-30 a.m.
not know if the Commissioner of Labour is aware of all these things and it is an unfortunate thing that, owing to this rule being enforced a little rigorously, there was a short strike in the Coimbatore Jail. Anyhow, having a power spinning factory inside the mill makes convicts find it very hard to find good work when they go out. What is hard in the case of these people is they are not able to get proper work outside. Reference has been made to the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society men and I may say, Sir, that it is very

[Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar] [20th March 1929

difficult to get work from them either in factories or elsewhere after their release. If people are trained in hand spinning and weaving work in the jail, they will have plenty of work outside. I think the hon. the Law Member was not correct in giving expression to what I consider to be his off-handed and unconsidered statements and I have no doubt, if he goes into these matters very carefully, he will come to the conclusion that khaddar must be supported and encouraged much more than at present."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The question is ' to reduce the allotment of Rs. 1,88,300 for Presidency Jails by Rs. 100 '."

The motion was put to vote and declared lost. A poll was demanded and the House divided thus :

Ayes.

1. Mr. A. B. Shetty.
2. ,, V. I. Muniswami Pillai.
3. ,, S. V. Vanavudaiya Gounder.
4. ,, U. Ramaswami Ayyar.
5. Khan Bahadur Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur.
6. Mr. V. Ramjee Rao.
7. ,, P. C. Venkatapati Raju.
8. ,, K. Koti Reddi.
9. ,, R. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
10. ,, Sami Venkatachalam Chetti.
11. ,, S. Satyamurti.
12. ,, C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar.
13. ,, G. Harisarvottama Rao.
14. ,, C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar.
15. Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur.
16. Mr. K. V. R. Swami.
17. ,, D. Narayana Raju.
18. Dr. B. S. Mallayya.
19. Mr. K. R. Karant.
20. ,, P. Anjaneyulu.
21. ,, C. Obi Reddi.
22. ,, A. Parasurama Rao.
23. ,, C. Ramasomayajulu.
24. ,, P. Bhaktavatsulu Nayudu.
25. ,, A. Kaleswara Rao.
26. K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur.
27. Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar.
28. ,, K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar.
29. ,, C. Venkatarangam Nayudu.
30. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar.
31. Rao Bahadur C. S. Ratnasabapathi Mudaliyar.
32. ,, B. Muniswami Nayudu.
33. Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri.

Noes.

1. The hon. Sir Norman Marjoribanks.
2. ,, Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur.
3. ,, Mr. T. E. Moir.
4. ,, Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar.
5. Mr. Hilton Brown.
6. ,, H. A. Watson.
7. ,, C. A. Souter.
8. ,, S. H. Slater.
9. ,, A. McG. C. Tampoe.
10. Mr. V. Ch. John.
11. ,, R. Foulkes.
12. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappah Bahadur.
13. Mr. C. W. E. Cotton.
14. Rao Bahadur O. M. Narayana Nambudiripad.
15. Mr. N. Siva Raj.
16. ,, W. P. A. Soundra Pandia Nadar.
17. ,, S. Subrahmanya Moopanar.
18. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan.

Neutral.

1. The hon. Mr. M. R. Seturatnam Ayyar.
2. ,, Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar.
3. ,, Dr. P. Subbarayan.
4. Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi.
5. Mr. P. J. Gnanavaram Pillai.
6. Mahmud Schamnad Sahib Bahadur.
7. Mr. S. Venkiah.
8. ,, S. N. Dorai Raja.
9. ,, S. Arpudaswami Udayar.
10. ,, C. E. Wood.
11. ,, F. E. James.
12. Mr. R. J. C. Robertson.
13. ,, K. P. Raman Menon.
14. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro.
15. Diwan Bahadur P. C. Ethirajulu Nayudu.
16. Mr P. T. Rajan.
17. Muhammad Khadir Mohideen Sahib Bahadur.
18. Khan Sahib T. M. Moidu Sahib Bahadur.
19. Rao Bahadur K. Sitarama Reddi.
20. Mr. K. Sarabha Reddi.

Ayes 33. Noes 18. Neutral 20.

The motion was carried.

20th March 1929]

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" I beg to move

'*that the allotment of Rs.* 6,00,000 *for Central Jails—Dietary Charges— be reduced by Rs.* 100.'

" Sir, I wish to draw the attention of Government to the bad food supplied in jails and the need for improving the same. I only desire to say two or three sentences in support of this cut motion. These jail convicts deserve to be treated like human beings and the food that ought to be given to them should be sufficient to keep them in health, not in comfort, but certainly in health. The food that is supplied, although it may be chemically pure, is so often abhorrent to the taste of the prisoner. Secondly, the vegetables which are usually grown in the gardens attached to jails and which are supposed to be supplied to these convicts more often go to places for which they are not intendend than to the kitchen where the food for these convicts is cooked.

" Then as regards ghee and buttermilk, especially for those who are accustomed to such kinds of food before they became convicts, it is desirable that they are given these elementary necessities of their food. In this connexion, I would draw the attention of the hon. the Law Member to the treatment meted out to European, i.e., non-Indian, prisoners. They get practically all kinds of food to which they were accustomed previously, viz., mutton, bread, butter, etc. May I ask, is it because of their skin? I do suggest to the hon. the Law Member that he ought to look into this matter carefully and see that proper food is supplied to these people and they are treated as human beings. I have very great pleasure in moving this cut motion."

* Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" I entirely endorse the remark that human element is wanting in the administration of jails. I have had absolutely no reason to be dissatisfied with the kind of food that is supplied to these people. More than once I had to refer to it in my remarks in the visitor's book in my capacity as honorary visitor of the jail . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Is the hon. Member seconding the proposition ?"

* Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—" Yes, Sir.

" As for ghee and buttermilk, notwithstanding the fact that on several occasions I insisted upon the fact that some convicts who have been accustomed to this kind of food had to be supplied with the same, the Jail Superintendent said that in the absence of a provision in the Manual to that effect he was powerless and he could do nothing in the matter. As regards vegetables, greens and pumpkins only are supplied, and brinjals and plantains are excluded. When I insisted upon buttermilk being supplied, the Jail Superintendent told me in so many terms : 'We are not having cows and we do not want to purchase buttermilk from outside which may contain bacilli and thereby lead to an outbreak of epidemic.'

" As for the quantity of food supplied I should like to make one or two observations. Each man is given in the course of a day a certain quantity of food and in one of my inspections some convicts told me that they were getting excess quantity of food, i.e., more than what they wanted, while others told me that the quantity of food given to them was less than they needed. When I requested the several Superintendents—the misfortune of my district is to

have a number of Superintendents in the course of a year—that it was much better to take the whole quantity of food that is supplied into consideration and equalize and distribute it in such a way as to satisfy all the convicts, the reply was 'rules do not permit.' I therefore request the hon. the Law Member to look into these matters and introduce human element in the administration of jails."

* Khan Bahadur P. KHALIF-UL-LAH SAHIB Bahadur :—"On this question I may also place before this House a little that I know of. So far as the Trichinopoly Jail is concerned, as my hon. Friends want me to speak, I may say that I have been a non-official visitor of that jail for some years and I do not think I can endorse what my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, told us regarding the supply of vegetables and other materials to these convicts. I have taken pains to question these prisoners regarding the quantity of food supplied to them and they have told me that they are absolutely satisfied with the same. As regards the quality of vegetables that is supplied to these convicts, they get much better vegetables than we do. As for the remark that these vegetables go to places for which they are not intended, I may say that the authorities do not do such things so far as I have seen. Whenever I went and inspected the jail—and I did so without notice—I always saw very good vegetables being supplied to these convicts and that in abundance. In confirmation of this statement I may say that the convicts in the Central Jail at Trichinopoly are gaining in weight unless there is some special indisposition in particular convicts. I may also inform the House that the Jail Committee unanimously recommended that buttermilk should be supplied to these convicts, but that recommendation was turned down—and it was really a surprise to me and also to the committee—the ground alleged being that buttermilk was considered to be a luxury. Many of the hon. Members here are accustomed to buttermilk and I do not think that anybody will consider it a luxury even to the poorest in India. The one main ground which induced the committee to recommend the supply of buttermilk to these convicts was that it would avoid the numerous cases of diarrhœa which we find affecting the jails particularly in the hot season and it was really unfortunate that this small recommendation should have been turned down. As a matter of fact it would not have cost the Government any tangible amount. On the contrary it would have saved the Medical department a lot of trouble and expense. I request the hon. the Law Member to bear in mind this point and see that this bare necessity of every South Indian is given to the poor convict who is undergoing his term in the jail."

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"Apparently there is some difference of opinion amongst hon. Members who have spoken on this motion. My hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, thinks that the quantity of food supplied to the convicts is not adequate. My Friend Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar on the other hand thinks—and he speaks from personal experience—that in some cases it is more than adequate and in some other cases it is inadequate. With reference to the quality of food there is the testimony of my hon. Friend Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar and also that of my hon. Friend from Trichinopoly, Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib.

11-45 a.m. "Some of the hon. Members who spoke yesterday on this motion and my hon. Friend, Mr. Satyamurti, who spoke to-day stated that the quality of the food supplied is not good. As I said, the other two gentlemen my hon.

20th March 1929] [Mr. M. Krishnan Nayar]

Friends, Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib and Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar, bore testimony to the fact that the quality of the food supplied was good. Perhaps I may say from personal experience—I have visited many jails—that the quality of the food supplied is very good. (A voice: 'Will you take that food?') Certainly I shall not hesitate to take the food that is supplied to the prisoners. As a matter of fact I have questioned many prisoners; they told me that they were satisfied with the quality of the food given. (There were some interruptions.) There is no use of unnecessarily interrupting me when I am speaking. As I submitted, so far as the quality of the food is concerned, it isvery good. The quality and quantity of the food are fixed after carrying on experiments and after consultation amongst the Surgeon-General, the Sanitary Commissioner and the Inspector-General. So far as the quality is concerned, there is nothing to complain of. So far as the quantity is concerned, there is substance in what my hon. Friend Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar stated, namely, that a certain measured quantity is supplied to the prisoners. Some of the prisoners are quite satisfied with it. Other prisoners, at the commencement of their career in jails, are not satisfied; after a few days they become accustomed to it. The fact that the quantity and quality of the food supplied to the prisoners are good is borne out by the circumstance that the prisoners generally gain weight after they have been in jails for some time.

"With reference to the vegetables that are supplied, I do not understand the insinuation contained in the statement that the vegetables do not go to the kitchen intended for these prisoners. I did not quite follow the inuendo or insinuation made by my hon. Friend. He is contradicted by my hon. Friend Mr. Khalif-ul-lah Sahib, who says that on several occasions he had visited the jails as a non-official visitor without notice and he found that the vegetables were being really taken to the kitchen intended for the prisoners.

"Then buttermilk is certainly good for the people. But there are two considerations which have to be borne in mind and they are these. In the first place the class of people from whom prisoners are ordinarily drawn do not use buttermilk as part of their daily diet. That is one important consideration. That shows that buttermilk is not very necessary for them. Secondly, there is another circumstance, viz., when buttermilk is prepared in small quantities, it can be prepared in a purified form. But when buttermilk is prepared for such a large number of prisoners, as 1,200 or 1,500 which is the usual number of prisoners that are confined in our central jails, it cannot certainly be said that it could be prepared without any contamination. (A voice: 'What do people do on wedding occasions?') Does my hon. Friend mean to say that milk should be purchased for the purpose of these prisoners in jails and that buttermilk should be prepared just as people prepare buttermilk for use on wedding occasions? There is a financial side also to this question. After all, as I said, they are not accustomed to take buttermilk. Is it possible to purchase milk and prepare buttermilk for such a large number of prisoners, as 1,200 or 1,500? It is absolutely impossible. Do hon. Members desire that these jails should be converted into dairy farms? There is also an important element which has to be taken into consideration. They are not taken there for being treated as guests. Therefore, there is no substance in the statement of my hon. Friend with reference to the supply of buttermilk for the use of prisoners.

"These are the points that were referred to by my hon. Friends. Both in respect of the quality of food and the quantity of food that is supplied

[Mr. M. Krishnan Nayar] [20th March 1929

I may say that it is good and quite adequate. The very fact that these prisoners gain in weight after having been in jails for some time is the best testimony both to the quality and quantity of the food supplied to them."

* Mr. K. P. Raman Menon :—" Mr. President, Sir, I am sorry I have to differ from what the hon. the Law Member has stated. He loses good cases by bad answers. (A voice : 'He usually does so.') Not in law courts while he was practising. I may mention one fact to which the attention of this House and the hon. the Law Member should be drawn. It is this. Over and above what has been stated by hon. Members I wish to bring one particular feature so far as the prisoners in jails are concerned. You must be aware, Sir, that prisoners in jails are given food in earthen *chatties*. As far as I am aware, no Indian eats out of earthen *chatties* or pots. They ordinarily take food in leaves and after all the expenditure for supplying leaves suitable to their condition would not be a very great factor in making some reformation in this matter.

" Then again, Sir, with reference to the question of buttermilk I was surprised to find the hon. the Law Member taking his stand that buttermilk is not necessary at all. As far as I am aware and you, Sir, are aware, there is a certain school of medicine which thinks that buttermilk is a panacea for all evils of intestine complaints which are set down to be due to want of lactic acid. There is lactic acid in buttermilk and it is a cure for all sorts of dysentery. In the face of that fact and in the fa.e of the fact that most people in Southern India use buttermilk in large quantities I fail to understand why the hon. Law Member should take his stand upon the fact that these prisoners are not guests and that buttermilk need not be supplied to them. Prisoners are human beings, though they are not guests. If they are used to buttermilk, they ought to be given buttermilk. They are not sent there for the purpose of being punished day after day for the sins they committed. They are given imprisonment; imprisoment is their punishment. They should not be deprived of their daily necessities. That aspect of the question must appeal to the hon. the Law Member. I would ask him to reconsider the question of at least supplying buttermilk to the prisoners. It is possible to have buttermilk supplied whether it is in large quantities or small quantities. It is a necessity and as such it must be supplied. Does the hon. Member state that, because there are too many persons in jails, the quantity of rice supplied to them should be diminished ? Certainly not. He would indignantly deny that charge. If there are 100 prisoners in a jail, does the hon. the Law Member mean to say that there are too many persons and that therefore the quantity of rice should be diminished ? Certainly not. Similarly, therefore, with reference to the supply of buttermilk and other necessities of life which are ordinarily used by these people, they ought to be supplied. I expect the hon. the Law Member to reconsider the question."

* The hon. the President :—" The cut motion and the demand are to be put to the vote of the House at 11-55.

" The question is 'to reduce the allotment of Rs. 6,00,000 for Central Jails—Dietary charges, by Rs. 100.' "

The motion was put and carried.

* The hon. the President :—" I now put the demand to the House ; the question is 'that the Government be granted an allotment of Rs. 31·64 lakhs minus Rs. 300 under Demand XV—Jails."

The demand was put and carried and the grant made.

20th March 1929]

DEMAND XVI—POLICE.

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—
" Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move that—

'*the Government be granted a sum not exceeding, Rs.* 158·52 *lakhs under Demand XVI—Police*'."

* Mr. C. RAMASOMAYAJULU :—" Mr. President, Sir, I move the following motion standing in my name, viz :—

'*to reduce the allotment of Rs.* 1,58,53,700 *for Police by Rs.* 100.'

" I want to discuss and disapprove of the method and policy of Police Administration.

" With reference to the method of police administration, I may say, Sir, that enough has been said during discussions on kindred motions before this House during this budget session and on other occasions to show that the police administration of this Presidency is very unsatisfactory, to put it most mildly. I may say that this administration is carried on in such an irresponsible manner that the hon. Home Member who is in charge of this portfolio was driven to the corner of having to state that an All-India politician was arrested without his knowledge and without his instructions; even after the lapse of a month the Government happen to have absolutely no information at all as regards why he was arrested, when he was arrested and in what manner he was arrested. That is sufficient to show that the administration of this department is not satisfactory. The man who was arrested is not an ordinary individual. The arrest is for a political offence under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code. In the matter of important prosecutions, in the matter of important steps being taken against persons of known reputation or of known character, known throughout the whole length and breadth of the land, in such matters, I expect the Government to take the initiative, to consider the merits of the question and then launch upon these prosecutions. To give a *carte blanche* to the police in matters of that sort would lead the Government into a ridiculous position. If the Government leaves the management of all these things in the hands of the police entirely, what really happened in the case of that gentleman, Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti, would always be happening. He was arrested in tragic circumstances. Although there was an officer particularly posted to watch Mr. Sambamurti, day and night, that officer was not courteous enough to say, when Mr. Sambamurti was arrested, under what circumstances he was arrested or would give any other information. He was not arrested under ordinary circumstances. He was arrested at 3-30 in the night when he was going to catch the train with his wife. He could have been informed while at home. In the case of these political prisoners, my point is this. Do the Government really believe that these political workers are carrying on propaganda without the knowledge of the Government or without the knowledge of the public? Do the Government really believe that these workers are carrying on their propaganda covertly and it is not possible to get at them? My point is this; these political workers are carrying on propaganda in a broad and open fashion and any man in the street will know what a particular political worker is doing; they are not doing it in a hide and seek manner. What is the necessity for going out of the way and not dealing with them openly and getting hold of them in an annoying way? It was a police officer that arrested him, and the hon. the Home Member had to admit that he had absolutely no

knowledge about these matters. The hon. the Home Member actually replied the other day that this arrest was made without the knowledge of the Government.

12 noon. "That is why I say that it comes legitimately with the province of this cut. I may submit in detail about the arrest of Mr. Bulusu Sambamurti. The police officers themselves arrested Mr. Sambamurti for speeches made in the month of January 1928. Well, Sir, if this speech made in January 1928 were harmful to the people, they were harmful even before the month of February 1929 and what is the meaning of taking action against him in February 1929 for speeches made in January 1928. That is a thing which I fail to understand . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Before the hon. Member proceeds further, I should like to make the ground clear. The Opposition have taken a vote on the question of the repressive policy of the Government on the Secretariat grant. The same questions are now raised. Further we have to guard against tedious repetition of things. If the same arguments are repeated, I do not think any useful purpose will be served."

* Mr. C. RAMASOMAYAJULU :—"I feel, Sir, that there has been a repetition in what I have been saying and I also plead guilty. I will not repeat it further. I do not wish to repeat to the House, as the hon. President has ruled it out—the very unjustifiable circumstances under which the Andhra leaders were arrested. I leave it there. So far as the policy of the administration of police is concerned, I may submit that it is a top-heavy administration. The men of the police service who are really required to face critical situations at the risk of their lives and even at the risk of personal safety, are the people who are ill-paid. I am sorry for the policemen, and although they do not belong to the ranks of people who are not after all over-intelligent or educated, but all the same they have got to perform the duties which are attended with more risks than the officers in the higher ranks. It is unfortunate that these police officers in the lower grades are the most ill-paid. Rupees 22 per month in the City and Rs. 17 in the mufassal is not even a starving wage. For these police officers who have to stand the whole day in the sun and have to do most of the traffic and control duty one rupee more is paid per month. On the other hand, you have got so many Assistant Superintendents, Deputy Superintendents and Deputy Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners, all very highly paid officers, and I do not know what they are required to do. They are called upon to do their office work of an intellectual type of course. I think that all these people are supernumerary officers and we do not want so many highly paid officials in the police service. What we want is really police force which will be in the country as help-mates to the people, instead of being persons who are apprehended by the people as somewhat against their safety. You must pay these lower officers more and you must get more advanced people, that is, men of higher educational qualifications, and then they will be discharging their legitimate duties of being the guardians of person and property. On the other hand, if you recruit these people from the lower ranks and pay them low salaries, instead of being the guardians of person and property, they become persons of whom even the law-abiding citizens are afraid. Let them not be a terror to the law-abiding citizens.

20th March 1929] [Mr. C. Ramasomayajulu]

"Again in regard to the Police reorganization in the city which was contemplated recently, by which the sergeants, a particular class of people, are to be paid much more than the persons who are doing more work and attended with greater risks than these sergeants are subjected to, I do not see the necessity for this discrimination between race and race. In regard to the administration of police in the city, as I said before, the hon. the Home Member ought to administer the portfolio with a greater sense of responsibility and he ought to be acquainted with the administration in a much greater manner than he seems to be. The administration is certainly top-heavy and it is unfortunate that even here racial discrimination prevails. Therefore, I move this cut and I hope the Council will accept it."

* Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti :—"Mr. President, Sir, in seconding the cut motion of my hon. Friend Mr. Ramasomayajulu, I desire to confine my remarks to the Police force in the City of Madras. I must admit that during recent years there has been a perceptible change in the appearance of police force at any rate. In the place of the decrepit and dilapidated human frames we now see cheerful, though somewhat arrogant, youthful appearance in the constabulary of the city. But, I am afraid that all these improvements are one-sided and purely external. I must also say that the material from which the constabulary is now recruited seems to be of a better material than the one from which they used to do and it will therefore be most unjustifiable if the material is not properly used for the benefit of the citizens. To-day, the police constable of the city of Madras is a human semaphore diverting traffic in the city. More than that, I am afraid, we cannot lay anything to the credit of the police force in the city. Of late, there has been an epidemic of burglaries and even of murders and I must say that it is not complimentary to the police force in the city that most, if not, all the murders that have been committed practically in daylight have been left undetected. Of course, grievances of this sort will only make the executive officers put up proposals for the reorganization of the police force and in that name advance and increase the pay of those people whose pay is already very high. Some time ago when questions were put, the hon. the Home Member stated that certain proposals were under contemplation of Government, that they were in a confidential stage and that the Council must wait till they were published. We now understand, Sir, that these proposals have been placed before the Finance Committee, both in connexion with the city police force and with regard to the mufassal police force and we are also told that the Finance Committee knocked down the recommendations of the Government in regard to the mufassal police force and sanctioned only those for the city police force. All the same, the proposals concerning both the branches are now for the consideration of this House. While I find fault with the Government for not respecting the opinion of the Finance Committee and decline to place the mufassal police force proposal also in connexion with the budget, I must say that so far as their proposal of the city police force is concerned, those proposals are based more upon racial discrimination than those on the discrimination of merit. It is the practice with the Government to charge agitators of fomenting racial discord and disharmony. I must say that the Government is the worst offender in that matter. I throw back that charge of disaffection and disharmony among the various sections of the Indian population by Government increasing the pay of one set of people with a particular colour and not minding the just and legitimate grievances

of persons belonging to the colour which the hon. the Home Member belongs to. It will be practically useless from the Indian point of view to have Indians as Members of the Executive Council and to have these portfolios in their charge, if they, while in office, are oblivious to the legitimate grievance of Indians. It is up to the hon. Member to repudiate in as strong terms as possible that he has not meant any discrimination of this sort and that he had dealt with the grievances of all people alike. Sir, it is notorious that the sergeant of the city police force is a human doll. He has no title to any of the qualities which the Indian sub-inspectors or for that matter, Anglo-Indian sub-inspectors or Inspectors possess. They look no doubt very gaudy. They may impress a villager who comes all on a sudden to the city of Madras and the villager may at times even mistake him for His Excellency the Governor. (Hear, hear.) The brass which they put on might have been burnished and it might be glittering, but within that ostentatious frame there is absolutely nothing. It will be a pity, indeed a thousand pities, that these sergeants should be paid more than their Indian compeers either in their own grade or even of inspectors and sub-inspectors. After all, this Government depends for its continuance more upon police and jails and, even from that point of view, it seems to me that the Government ought to treat the Indian police servants much more considerately and much more justly than they are being treated now. Sir, I shall also have to state in this connexion that the constabulary in the city of Madras is not yet taught the sense of duty to the public. He is now merely a part of the great mechanism of repression of the Government. He is not taught to consider himself to be a servant of the public and to be helpful to him. There are still small things of curruption around him. He has not yet ceased to levy his petty exactions on the fruit-sellers or on hawkers or for that matter even on the village cartmen. He has not yet ceased to be a partner in the rickshaw plying; nor
12-15 has he ceased to be the real proprietor of the betel-nut bazaar. These things
p.m. are still going on and it is necessary that these persons should be drawn away from those temptations. Sir, the attitude of the Government with reference to the politicians has given the police an undoubted advantage over them. We hear of cases of hon. Members of this House being shadowed. I can very well understand that these police constables, sub-inspectors and inspectors, who are unable to trace the offenders, must necessarily be engaged in the more harmless pastime of shadowing hon. Members of this House. By that pleasant duty, I think, they are entitled even to draw conveyance allowances. For, if the hon. Member goes in a motor car he must necessarily follow him at his heels and for that he must perforce engage a motor car. There are instances where these police men have confidential talks with the persons whom they have to follow; and in these conversations they fish out their routine of visits and other engagements; and from this these policemen submit reports from their homes to their higher authorities stating that at such and such a time that particular person was with such and such a person. For, what necessity is there for him to follow the person as he has already learnt about his engagements?

" Sir, recently we have been witnessing these police constables parading the streets of Madras with small lathis and sometimes with big lathis. I do not know for what they are intended for? (Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar: 'To beat dogs.') (Laughter.) Sir, this will create a very bad impression on those who visit Madras and they will think that the whole city is in a state

20th March 1929] [Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti]

of rebellion, and that these are engaged in quelling that. If only Madras wants to rebel, I do not think these policemen will be able to prevent it. (Hear, hear.) Even on occasions of festivals and fairs we see these persons carrying lathis. And should a fracas ensue these persons stand aloof. Sir, about the 3rd February last year there was a big meeting in the Madras Beach and some of the speakers were about to be roughly handled, the audience was disturbed and yet the police were seen standing in the portico of the Presidency College and they did not move one inch from their place to drive away the disturbers. So, when the actual time for the preservation of peace comes these policemen are nowhere. I know from what the Government have been saying time and again these policemen have formed a very wrong sense of their duty and they seem to think they would be pleasing Government if they worry, annoy and bully Congressmen particularly. In the elections of November 1926 I know the police did identify itself with one particular party as against another. Meetings held by the Congress party were invariably disturbed, while persons belonging to the other party were protected all round the City of Madras. I want the Government first to issue instructions to the police not to interfere with the elections and leave the various political parties to fight their own battle; and also to tell the police force that it is not unlikely that when the day comes when the Congressmen are their masters, their lot will be not pleasant if they are going to treat Congressmen in this manner to-day.

"Coming to the recent event I must record my emphatic protest against the manner in which the most respectable men of the city were treated in connexion with the boycott procession. Sir, I must confess I had not the necessary grit and willingness to accompany the procession. But I must say that it is not open to any Government to prevent a peaceful demonstration like the boycott procession the use of the thoroughfares of the city for that purpose. I ask the hon. the Home Member to tell me why he thought it necessary and justifiable to prevent the Congress boycott procession from going as far as the harbour. Sir, it came to us as a surprise when the hon. the Home Member answered the question put to him in this Council by saying that as there was already another party in the harbour there would be a conflict if the two parties met. I do not know if the hon. the Home Member is going to metuculously calculate the opinions and views of the various political parties and decide for himself whether the grouping of two parties will result in a clash or cohesion. I am afraid the hon. the Home Member is taking too much upon himself to say that these parties would come to a clash. He knows well that the Congressmen are not going to welcome the Simon Commission and if they are allowed to proceed to the harbour the chances will be of the two parties joining together instead of coming into conflict with each other; for I really think the party that had gone there to welcome the Simon Commission will surely join the Congress party if the latter had been allowed to proceed to the harbour."

Rao Bahadur B. MUNISWAMI NAYUDU :—"The *vice versa* would have probably happened." (Laughter.)

*Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—"In my opinion there is no justification for the restriction of the movements of a particular body on that day. It is a pity that the Congressmen do not go to law courts and establish their rights. But that is no reason why the hon. the Home Member should prevent the Congressmen from exercising even the ordinary rights of citizenship.

[Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti] [20th March 1929

"Sir, while talking about the harbour I am tempted to speak about the cost of maintaining the police force in the harbour. I understand, I shall be glad to be corrected if I am wrong, that the harbour authorities do not want these police force in their premises, and that they suggested to the Commissioner of Police that they would make their own arrangements and that the Government need not levy any contribution by supplying any police force. If that be so, I should very much like to know why Government should not withdraw the police from there and allow the harbour authorities to make their own arrangements. Sir, with regard to the lending of the services of the police, a similar request was made by the Madras Corporation and it was not granted. In order to prevent the commission of nuisance in the city, the Corporation applied to the Government to allow their municipal overseers being invested with police powers of prosecuting the offenders of nuisance. If Government are unwilling to invest the municipal servants with those powers, to which they are by no means less entitled than the policemen either from the point of pay or conduct I would suggest them to lend some constables for this service, and no doubt the Corporation will pay for it.

"Sir, with regard to the motor accidents in the city I must say that since the advent of Mr. Cunningham as the Commissioner of Police the restrictions placed upon these rash and irresponsible motor drivers have resulted in an appreciably decreased number of accidents, which were till then as frequent as infantile deaths in the city. It seems to me that a permanent improvement in this direction cannot be guaranteed unless these motor drivers are made to undergo training in some recognized institute of motor driving. We find the railway engine drivers are made to undergo training for a certain period in the railway institute for this purpose. Motor driving is no less responsible and no less risky than the railway engine driving and I would recommend to Government for the recognition of certain institutions of motor driving. Because I know, and there is no gain saying the fact, of some instances of licence being obtained *in absentia*, as in the case of obtaining degrees in convocation.

"Sir, with regard to the distinction made between the city police force and the mufassal police force it seems to me that this is set up according to convenience. If the executive officer thinks that a particular mufassal police inspector should be brought to the city then the argument is trotted out that no difference should be made between the city and mufassal police and that the seniormost man must get the higher post. But if the mufassal inspector is not to be preferred then the stock argument is trotted out that the city police must be kept separate from the mufassal. Whether you are going to incorporate both into one or keep them separate it must be a permanent conclusion; it ought not to be varied from time to time. I have heard it from persons who were affected by this that this stock argument is resorted to according to the particular whims and fancies of the executive officers. I do not know whether this occasion also is used for that similar purpose or whether it is going to be made a permanent arrangement.

12-30 p.m. "Mr. President, I should like to mention another fact. And that is, with regard to the prevention of overloading of carts. It is no doubt a primitive feature of the city life that we are still having hand-carts and carts drawn by bullocks and buffaloes. The extent to which these carts are loaded is never known, and instances are not rare when these unfortunate beasts are most

20th March 1929] [Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti]

cruelly treated. It perhaps requires a couple of annas to silence the police constable on duty to carry on this sort of cruelty with impunity. I would like the installation of weigh bridges at places where these carts are plied, to know the heaviness of the load and to prevent those from offending against the rules in regard to this matter. This is a very necessary step and I would commend it to the acceptance of the hon. the Home Member.

"With these few words, I second the motion moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramasomayajulu."

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—"Mr. President, Sir, I heartily support the motion to censure the administration of the Police department in this province."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"It is only to discuss the administration." (Laughter.)

* Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—"To discuss and disapprove."

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—"Sir, the object of this motion is to raise a discussion and express disapproval of the policy of the Government and if I stand to speak on this motion it is because I have given notice of similar motions with different objects, and I take it that this is my chance to speak on the points of view that I want to impress upon the House. I therefore feel that this should be taken as a censure motion disapproving the Police administration in this province. Sir, I have to state here that the Police administration is both inefficient and irresponsible, inefficient and irresponsible in the sense that they have not fulfilled the purpose for which they were created. Time and again we are told that we have little sympathy with the police. The reason is very clear. The police here are not the same that you find in self-governing countries and specially in countries like England, and much less the London Police. The police here take delight not only in torturing the people but also in putting up cases merely to justify their existence. I will quote from the statistical abstract of British India only to justify this allegation. I quote figures of the year 1926, and I quote here the number of cases that were proved or declared to be false as also the number of cases in which the people charged were either discharged or honourably acquitted. Comparing our province with the provinces of Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa and especially with those of Bengal, United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa where the population is as much as that of Madras and even more, hon. Members will see that while in Madras 3,186 cases were declared as not being proved or declared to be false in the year 1926, in Bombay only 1,447 cases, in Bengal 1,200 cases (Bengal with a population of 46½ millions), in United Provinces with a population of about 45½ millions they have got 2,205 cases declared to have not been proved or declared to be false, Bihar and Orissa with practically the same population as Madras, has got 1,521 discharges. So, Sir, it will be seen that the police not only take delight in putting up cases merely to justify their own existence but also just to torture the people and create an atmosphere of terror in the country. Similarly, it is the case with the success of their charges. While in Madras 7,214 cases were declared as discharged or the accused acquitted, in Bombay you have got 4,511 such cases, in Bengal it is 6,118, in United Provinces it is 4,430 and in Bihar and Orissa it is 1,822. This clearly shows that the Police administration in this Presidency has been far from satisfactory, and that the Police department has failed to fulfil its mission. It has failed in its

purpose to teach the people to respect law and order and has wasted tax-payer's money and utilized the same to terrorise him. If teaching cowardice and terrorising the people are the main idea for which the police force is maintained, it has satisfied the bureaucracy and fulfilled its purpose.

"Sir, the expenditure under the department of Police was far below two crores when reforms were inaugurated; and, thanks to the reforms, we not only get more of terror, more of the repression from the police, but also we are saddled with more expenditure. Well, Sir, we need not mind much to pay money but to use that money against us and to stifle our liberty is a state of things which we cannot tolerate and we shall not tolerate. Sir, very often reports against magistrates are submitted to the district magistrates from the superintendent of police, and on these reports action is taken with the result that more often than not these unfortunate magistrates are either reduced or suspended. It shakes the very foundation of the independence of the magistracy and consequently the chances of acquittal for the accused in cases where people are charge-sheeted by the police are rare. This is one which the hon. the Home Member should seriously enquire into and see that it ceases. Sir, I have to speak about the costly nature of the administration. Madras has about 42 millions of people. In provinces with more population and where crimes are by no means rare, that is, provinces like Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces or Assam, the expenditure is not only low but the administration also is far better. As I have already proved by quoting figures, the expenditure on the police in this province is far more than that of any one of the above provinces. Thus, the Government of United Provinces are able to get on with their administration with 180 lakhs of rupees, with more population (I think it is 5 millions of people more than Madras), and with greater extent also. Bihar and Orissa with about 38 million population gets on with its Police administration with much less than a crore of rupees. Central Provinces spends proportionately far less as also Assam. I therefore ask the hon. the Home Member why should he not take a leaf, take a lesson, out of those administrations and carry on ours much more cheaply by looking to the retrenchment in the department. Sir, law and order, though a Reserved subject, has been kept in the hands of Indians in this Presidency. And is it our fault if we say that Indian administration has been a failure, seeing that repression is more rife and expenditure is more heavy and extravagant, and offices are kept far above the sanctioned strength in the department? Under these circumstances, I think we cannot have a good word for the administration of the Police department by the non-officials of the Treasury bench.

"Sir, Lord Willingdon gave us the promise that he would make the departmental heads to reduce expenditure by 25 per cent, and after that famous declaration by His Excellency, a Retrenchment Committee was constituted with my hon. Friend, the Chief Minister, as one of its members. In this Retrenchment Committee, if I remember right, my hon. Friend after very great care and caution came to the conclusion that two posts of Deputy Inspectors-General should be abolished. The Chief Presidency Magistrate who was also a member of that committee came to the same conclusion. These being the recommendations, I think my hon. Friend there cannot say that the present Chief Minister of the Government with his ultra loyalty was a swarajist, a socialist or a nihilist or a communist. He cannot say that the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the hon. Dr. Subbarayan made

20th March 1929] [Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo]

these recommendations or consented to those recommendations without due consideration of the necessities of the province. The Chief Presidency Magistrate who was a party to this report now adorns the bench of the High Court as one of the Judges. These recommendations, coming as they do from such persons of eminence and experience, I think, ought to have been given due weight in considering retrenchments in the administration of the department. Now, I would put it to the hon. the Home Member what he has done and to what extent he has given effect to these recommendations. Looking into the police adminstration report for 1927, which is the latest on hand, I see that there is the same number of officers, i.e., we have six Deputy Inspectors-General the same number when this blessed Retrenchment Committee was appointed. If that is the position of the Government, if that is the tenacity with which they would stick to their position, why then waste our money on retrenchment committees, and why waste our time and energy on retrenchment proposals?

"Having said that much about the administration of the department in general, I come to my district. Sir, the administration of the police in our district has not been very satisfactory, satisfactory in the sense that they have not been able to safeguard or protect the people in times of necessity. I have found and I have placed this complaint before the hon. the Home Member also that the police have been taking unnecessary interest in cases which ought to be charge-sheeted by the proprietors of estates where the Madras Forest Act is under operation. Under the provisions of the Madras Forest Act, the proprietors are declared as forest officers under the Act. They are vested with summary powers under the rules. Why then should the police interfere and intervene in these cases and charge-sheet these unfortunate people so as to terrorize them in the first instance and in the second instance to make it impossible for these people to escape from these charges as they come from the police. Once these unfortunate people are charge-sheeted by the police, there is no go for them, specially as this Forest Act has got its own Code of evidence as against the Evidence Act. This being the case, I would implore 12-45 p.m. the hon. the Home Member to inquire into the matter and see that these guardians of law and order do not show excessive zeal in the preservation of law and order, in which the people of the country where private owners are able, intelligent and rich enough to bring to book any trespasser.

"Then, Sir, I had been to the Vizagapatam Agency and I know something of the Ganjam Agency, and I must say here that the vetti service about which many complaints have been in this House year after year has not yet ceased. Sir, I must confess that Mr. Saunders, than whom we cannot have a better police officer in this Presidency amongst the superintendents, put down this vetti service with a strong hand. Soon after his going away from the Agency, vetti service has again been revived. When I was going round the streets of Jeypore one day, I found a police head constable going with his family, with about 25 vettis about him. I first thought it was a marriage party. It is time that the Government take steps to see that this vetti service is done away with and these unfortunate people protected from this inhuman oppression. The Government claim to protect the people in the Agency and they should see therefore that people are really protected from the repression of these guardians of law and order.

"Then, Sir, my hon. Friend, the Home Member, claims equal justice for all the communities in this province. I ask him what justice he has done to this unfortunate community, the Oriyas, who stand in point of numerical

strength, the fourth in the province. Up to this day, there is not one Oriya in the provincial cadre in spite of the protests from the people. Though we have got many inspectors who can occupy responsible positions, none has been made a deputy superintendent. What is the meaning of calling candidates for direct recruitment, and what useful purpose is served by the appointment of a Staff Selection Board, if you select people whose selections are already decided ! A lot of money is being wasted on this farce and much trouble is caused to these unfortunate Oriya candidates with qualifications coming from long distances only to go away disappointed, though they possess all the qualifications, educational and physical. Why then this tall talk of doing justice to all the communities ? I think the time has come for conducting a proper selection of candidates. I shall not be sorry if the Oriyas do not get any high place if they do not deserve it. But as long as there are deserving candidates both in and out of service among us in that community, chances must be given to them.

"With these words, I commend the motion to the House. If my hon. Friend, the Home Member, is not benefited by the series of censure motions passed against his Colleague the Law Member, I think we will have to teach him also a lesson. (Hear, hear.) We will not be blamed for doing that."

* Mr. A. B. SHETTY :—" Mr. President, Sir, European cities are said to be proud of their police. The police there carry on their work in an atmosphere of public confidence. They are chosen and trained well. They employ scientific methods for the detection of crime. The unfailing courtesy of the English Police has become proverbial. I shall not be far wrong if I say that such courtesy is lacking in the police in our country. Of course, there must be a change of mentality both in the people as well as in the police ; the general attitude of the police to the public as well as of the public towards the police is not what it ought to be. The Government order, reviewing the administration report, also calls attention to the criticisms that have been levelled against the sub-inspectors to the effect that officers of this class mingle far too little with the people at large, and are inclined to have exaggerated notions of their own position. This is a matter which must receive the attention of the authorities concerned.

"The work of regulating traffic, of dealing with large crowds at certain places, of preventing disorder, of apprehending criminals--each of these has a technique of its own ; especially the work of detection requires men of high intelligence and proper training. The police force must, however, be the instrument for not merely detecting crime but also for preventing crime. The preventive policeman will be the policeman of the future. He must try to keep people from falling victims to crime, as the Health department keeps plague and pestilence away. (Dr. Mallayya : Where ?) That is what they are trying to do. (A voice : In vain.) Certainty of apprehension of criminals is indispensable for reducing crime. The first essential for it is to have an honest and expert police system. Is any specialized training in methods of detection following the model of the Scotland Yard given to our police officers either at the time of training or subsequently ? The Government say : 'on the quality of sub-inspectors depends to a large extent the quality of the Police administration.' As regards the efficiency of sub-inspectors, the report for 1926 says 'There is little detective ability in many of the sub-inspectors.' The average efficiency is not high and there is room for improvement of the sub-inspectors.

The Government Order reviewing this says: 'Government observe with concern that sub-inspectors and inspectors have not answered the expectations entertained in regard to them, both in the matter of detective ability and control over subordinates.' The administration report for 1927 says that a considerable proportion of sub-inspectors fall below the requisite standard of efficiency, especially in regard to investigation and detection of crime. The solution of the problem depends according to Government upon raising the standard of recruitment and training. The Government are recruiting a better class of men now, but the standard of training has not been raised.

"Then, with regard to another important duty which the police have to do, namely, traffic control, I am very glad to note that so far as Madras City is concerned it is being tackled very efficiently, and the Inspector-General as well as the Police Commissioner deserve credit for the success achieved in this work. But I am afraid, so far as the mufassal is concerned, traffic control still continues to be inefficient. I have sent a question asking for statistics of motor accidents in the mufassal. Government have not yet replied to it. We are not in a position to know whether there has been any diminution in the number of accidents. In the mufassal also they have laid down speed regulations. But those regulations are not enforced as they ought to be. I am told that the police officers on traffic duty take down the starting time of buses and also their arrival time, but they do not take care to check whether those buses really exceed the speed limit. As a matter of fact, I know in my own district buses going outside the town are taken at dangerous speeds. Again in the matter of issuing driver's licences, sufficient care is not taken. What are the tests imposed in giving licences to drivers? Does it depend merely upon an individual's driving capacity? A man may be a very good driver. But if he has any eye or ear defect or if he is a drunkard it will not be safe to give him a licence. It will be interesting and useful to analyse and find out how many of the accidents are due to drivers being new and inexperienced or drunk at the time of the accident or to their having some physical defect. I hope that these matters will receive the attention of the hon. the Home Member and that he will do what he can to make traffic control administration more satisfactory in the mufassal by seeing that the police properly understand and perform their duties in this matter with due care."

* Mr. R. J. C. ROBERTSON :—" Mr. President, Sir, I should like to say a few words generally in appreciation of the police. I do not feel I am qualified to speak as regards the police in mufassal, because most of my time in India has been spent in the cities. It is very easy to criticise the police, but I think in many instances they are subjected to uninformed criticisms, which are typical of the man in the street, who only sees a certain action taken and does not know what led up to such action. The police work under great difficulties and do not get as much help as they ought to from the public and not always the right kind of help when they do. I have heard with great sympathy proposals made by hon. Members of this House for the improvement and betterment of the conditions of the police constables and the lower grade officers. There, I think, lies one of the solutions for their improvement. If this House will vote the necessary money to attract a better type of constable and better educated men (hear, hear) many of these difficulties would disappear automatically. They would be more capable of benefiting by the training they received and if better paid they would then be less open to the temptation of taking small bribes from the public.

[Mr. R. J. C. Robertson] [20th March 1929

1 p.m. "As regards the direction and control of motor and other traffic, to which some hon. Members referred, I was very glad to hear the tributes paid by them to the police officials of this city. I myself consider that great steps have been taken in this direction. It is easy to talk of oppression and repression by the police. These are relative terms. The ordinary well behaved and peaceable citizen has nothing to fear either in Madras or the mufassal. Those who in various ways put themselves under suspicion and the necessity of control must be prepared to take what comes to them.

"Mention was made of the arrangements in the City of Madras during the visit of the Simon Commission. I think they were wholly admirable, but at the same time I regret the necessity for them to be made. Taking into consideration what happened on a previous occasion, I do not see that less could have been done, nor do I see why any objection should be taken to the methods adopted by the police to control demonstrations. I think they would have been particularly unwise had they allowed the boycott procession to proceed to the harbour, as that would possibly have led to a real clash between two opposing factions. I think that the police had every right to exercise such control. Such control is exercised over all kinds of processions, even in the case of weddings.

"I do not agree with those hon. Members who make the suggestion for the sake of retrenchment that the higher officials of the police are overpaid. The labourer is worthy of his hire. Considering the amount of work which the higher officials undertake, the onerous duties they have to perform, the pay they receive is not too much. One hon. Member said he did not know what they did for it. I venture to say, that if he was in any of their places he would not then consider that he was by any means overpaid. I consider that they are a very capable lot of men faithfully performing their duties, sometimes under very trying circumstances. If these things are taken properly into consideration, we can only come to the conclusion that they are by no means too highly paid. After all the police force can to some extent be compared to any large business concern or big commerical company, for the Directors of which to be efficient we must be prepared to pay decently. While therefore I am prepared to agree with those who wish to better the prospects of the subordinates and the constabulary, I cannot by any means consent to retrenchment being attempted at the top.

"Mention was made about corruption. I think such cases are proportionately very few. I also think that every one must agree that when we employ such a large body of men, there are bound to be some bad characters and weak men among them. However, I should like to make it clear, that personally,—I consider that the Police of this City, as a whole, are a very sound body of conscientious and hard working men, and I should like to pay my tribute of appreciation of their services to the country."

[* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :— "Mr. President, Sir, I wish first of all to deal with some points raised by my hon. Friends in connexion with this debate.]

"First of all, my hon. Friend Mr. Shetty discussed the matter relating to the training of the police. I may say, Sir, that we are giving our sub-inspectors and constables sufficient training before they are employed in the Police department and as hon. Members are aware that sub-inspectors

20th March 1929] [Sir Muhammad Usman]

before they are appointed undergo training in Vellore, and if anything further has to be done in the way of giving any kind of special training as has been pointed out by more than one hon. Member the question will be considered.

"With regard to non-recruitment of Oriyas to the Provincial Police Service, I have to reply to my hon. Friend, Mr. Biswanath Das, that the question will be considered when qualified people are available. After all qualification is a thing that we cannot overlook.

(A voice from the Swarajist benches : 'Except in few cases.')

"With regard to the very good suggestion made by my hon. Friend, Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti, regarding the installation of weigh-bridges at certain stations, I am prepared to have the question examined. I entirely agree with the hon. Member about its utility and that it ought to be welcomed. But the question requires to be examined. I shall take the earliest opportunity of considering it.

"Some questions were raised about the contribution the Madras Port Trust makes. I may say, Sir, that the existing strength of the Harbour Police is 1 inspector, 3 sub-inspectors, 11 sergeants, 24 head constables and 26 constables. Under the proposed reorganization of the City Police, it has been decided to revise this strength to 1 inspector, 2 sub-inspectors, 13 sergeants, 23 head constables and 32 constables. Under the existing arrangements the Port Trust authorities bear two-thirds of the cost of the police including pensionary charges, clothing and equipment, and house-rent. This rate was fixed in consultation with the Port Trust authorities and was accepted by Government in 1919. (Mr. S. Satyamurti : 'Why not they pay the whole ?')

"Certain questions were raised with regard to the reorganization of the City Police force. As I said before that about this time last year a number of questions were asked with regard to the condition of motor-vehicle traffic in the City of Madras and the Government promised to look into the question of the improvement of motor-vehicle traffic. The attention of the Police Commissioner was drawn to it and the Commissioner of Police came to the conclusion that it is very desirable that the department of the motor-vehicle traffic in the City of Madras should be placed under a Deputy Commissioner. Now there are only two Deputy Commissioners and this department of the motor-vehicle traffic could not be placed under any of them. So in the reorganization scheme we have provided for three Deputy Commissioners—one to be in charge of motor-vehicle traffic, another to look after the detection of crime and the third to preserve law and order.

"With regard to the question of differential treatment given to sergeants, I should like to say that there is no racial prejudice or discrimination at all. (A voice : 'Then.') What I should like to point out is that the sergeants are recruited at the age of 40 and the sub-inspectors at 25. The sub-inspectors have many openings before them. He can become an inspector and even a Deputy Superintendent whereas a sergeant is recruited at the age of 40 and he has no great prospects. (A voice : 'Why at the age of 40 ?') (Dr. Mallayya : 'We think that it is unnecessary.') You may think that it is unnecessary but we think that it is necessary. We want men with military training. (Interruptions.)

[Sir Muhammad Usman] [20th March 1929

" I do not want interruptions." (Mr. S. Satyamurti : ' Who are you to say that ? ')

The hon. the HOME MEMBER :—" Who are you to ask me ? "

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I think the Opposition will hear the Home Member calmly and with due courtesy."

Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED :—" He must be courteous."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member is not in order. If the hon. Members do not heed my warning, I may have to resort to the provisions of the rules for maintaining order." (Hear, hear from the official benches.)

D B. S. MALLAYYA :—" May I know, Sir, whether the hon. the Home Member is in order in saying ' Who are you to ask me ? ' "

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" He is in order."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" Sir, the sergeants are men who have served in the Army and they possess military training and we want for the sergeants only men who have served in the Army. Therefore, Sir, there is no racial discrimination at all. (Mr. S. Satyamurti : ' Are there Indians ? ') I think the hon. Member knows that there are no Indians.

" As regards the salary of constables, Sir, I may say that in the city the head constable of the first grade gets Rs. 42, in the mufassal Rs. 35 ; and second-grade head constables in the city get Rs. 38, in the mufassal Rs. 30 ; the third grade Rs. 35 in the city and about Rs. 26 or Rs. 27 in the mufassal. The constables in the city get from Rs. 22 to Rs. 30 and in the mufassal from Rs. 17 to Rs. 22 and this pay has not been found to be inadequate. (A voice : ' Is it so ? ') What the constables in Madras wanted was more rest and according to the reorganization scheme, out of three nights the constable will be on bed for two nights and he will be off-duty one day once every seven days. This is a very great advantage and is being appreciated by the constables.

" My friend Mr. Ramasomayajulu said that the police administration is not satisfactory and the reason that he advanced was that they arrest people. As I have said before, if anybody makes a seditious speech calculated to bring the Government established by law into contempt, proceedings will be taken against him. Generally these steps are taken by the Police and the Government cannot interfere in the matter as the Police are within their rights.

" I am extremely glad to hear Mr. Robertson for the manner in which he has approached the question. He is a gentleman who knows the working of the Police both in this country and in his own country. He rightly said that he was pleased with the arrangements made on the arrival of the Simon Commission.

1-15 p.m. " He also regretted the necessity for making those admirable arrangements. He regretted, I suppose, the necessity for the Government to have incurred the expenses in connexion with those arrangements. The Government are not responsible for it. The Government knew that there were forces and movements in the country whose object is to bring about disorder in the country. (Mr. S. Satyamurti : ' Question. Prove it if you can or withdraw it.') I will come to it. There is no use of denying it. It is a well-known fact that about

the 3rd February 1928 there was a meeting in the Beach--it was referred to by some hon. Members—at which the ex-Deputy Leader of the Opposition who presided or took a prominent part had to run through the Government House."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" A word of personal explanation, Sir. It is a terminological inexactitude. I never went to the Government House. Is this the way he is instructed? It is a lie."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :— " I was told that he had to run."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" I never ran."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :— " I have seen reports to that effect." (Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar : 'But you must take the denial.')

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" If anybody wants to deny statements made by Government Members, he will be given an opportunity to make a personal statement. The debate can continue, I think, till 2-55 p.m. There is ample time for making statements. If the hon. Member for Government is making statements regarding particular Members of this House, they will have ample opportunities to make counter-statements if they want."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—" Thank you, Sir."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :— " When it was brought to my notice that Messrs. Satyamurti and Muthuranga Mudaliyar had to run followed by some urchins (laughter), we thought it was the duty of the Government to see that such things did not recur. We therefore were forced to take measures to see that nobody took undue advantage on the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission on the 18th February 1928.

" This year again we had to make arrangements on account of the fact that trouble was apprehended. It was expected that there would be trouble and the procession had to be protected by a large body of police to see that it was taken safely along the route given by the leaders. (A voice : 'Was the route given?') I will come to that.

" My friend Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti vehemently denounced the police for not allowing the procession to go to the harbour. The Commissioner, as the officer in charge of the preservation of law and order in Madras, knew that, if this procession was allowed to go to the harbour, it would come into conflict with those who had gone there to welcome the Commission. He was strengthened in his opinion by the letter he received from the President, Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar and the President, Andhra Congress Committee, Mr. K. Nageswara Rao. (Mr. S. Satyamurti : 'Read the letter.') I thought of giving the purport of the letter."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Regarding quoting from documents, as far as the Government Members are concerned, two methods may be adopted. They may publish the document and then quote from it or they may give an undertaking to publish it and read it in the House. If the hon. Member proposes to circulate copies of it to the Members of the House, he will be in order in quoting from it."

[20th March 1929

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"I will lay copies on the table to-morrow. This letter is dated 15th February 1929 and addressed to the Commissioner of Police, Madras. It reads thus :

'Sir, we beg to inform you that the Simon boycot procession will start on the 18th morning at about 7-15 a.m. from the Napier Park (Chintadripet) and proceed along Mount Road, Wallajah Road, Band Beach Road, cross the Napier Bridge and hold a meeting on the sands, north of the bridge opposite to (what is known as) the Cupid's Bow. Yours truly,

S. Srinivasa Ayyangar,
President, Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee,
K. Nageswara Rao,
President, District Congress Committee, Andhra, Madras, and Secretary, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.'

When this letter was placed in the hands of the Commissioner of Police, he thought that these leaders themselves thought that it was not safe for them to go to the harbour. (Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed: 'That was the route.') They wanted to lead the procession along the route mentioned in their letter and then hold their meeting on the sands opposite to (what is known as) the Cupid's Bow. Now, where is the question of these gentlemen trying to take the procession to the harbour ? (Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed: 'Because the Commission's route was changed.') The leaders were carrying on conversations with the Commissioner of Police saying that they would go only as far as the Cupid's Bow and assemble there. So, according to the leaders who led the procession, they had absolutely no intention of going to the harbour at all. But on the morning of the 18th February a mere pretence was made to advance towards the harbour. (Loud laughter.) The Commissioner, of course, would not allow it. They then assembled opposite the Cupid's Bow and had their shouting. (Cries of 'Withdraw the word.') I fully justify the action of the Commissioner on that occasion. But I want hon. Members to remember that the gentlemen who wrote the letter to the Commissioner, the leaders of the procession were not in favour of going to the harbour at all. (Mr. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed: 'Question.') I hope, Sir, in view of this fact, the House will not allow this motion to be passed.

"I shall now satisfy the House with regard to the efficiency of the police by giving some facts and figures. There are :—

	In 1904.	In 1919.	In 1928.
Dacoity	445	965	202 cases
Robbery	693	1,144	652 cases.

Regarding house-breaking, cattle-theft, ordinary theft, etc., I find from table I have in my hand that in 1928 the percentage of crime was lowest. I hope the House will therefore reject this cut motion and pass the demand."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Which of the hon. Members wish to make statements ? Before further debate is begun, I want to give an opportunity to Members who are desirous of making personal statement to do so.

"(After a pause) If nobody wants to make personal statement, we shall continue the debate."

Mr. C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—"We will make our personal statements when we speak on the motion, Sir."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"It is, I think, better to have personal statements, if any, made now. Personal statements may be made immediately after the member occasioning those statements resumes his seat."

20th March 1929]

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Then another opportunity will be afforded to speak on the motion?"

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Oh, yes; if time permits."

* Mr. C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—"Sir, in the course of his reply, the Home Member mentioned my name clubbed with that of Mr. Satyamurti and said that we both, on the date of the first arrival of Simon Commission in Bombay, had to run. (Laughter.) I do not know if he included my name also as having gone to the Government House."

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"Not to the Government House."

* Mr. C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—"He said that I ran away along the beach in company with Mr. Satyamurti. (Laughter.) I deny the whole thing. The fact is that on that day, in company with Mr. Nageswara Rao and accompanied by about 200 others I started from the sixteen-pillared mantapam of the Kapaleeswarar Koil at Mylapore and went in procession to the Tilak Ghat. We attended the meeting and from there repaired by the same route (laughter) to Mylapore; while Mr. Satyamurti started with others from the Mahajana Sabha Hall and in the midst of showers of stones (cries of shame) encouraged by the police officials came to the Triplicane Ghat. He was there along with us. He took part in the meeting and as soon as the meeting was over he also left the place. I left the place after Mr. Satyamurti. In returning from the meeting, we met each other nowhere. We neither ran away from the meeting, nor along the beach, nor to the Government House."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Mr. President, I had no intention of intervening in this debate at all. I felt so tired. But if it comes to this, that hon. Members of Government are going to make wild statements of cowardice and of falsehoods against their hon. Colleagues, I think it is time that every Member of this House, to whatever party he belongs, stands up to put this down. I never accused any Member of this House of what he is supposed to have done, according to C.I.D. reports, on certain occasions. 1-30 p.m.

"With regard to the meeting which my hon. Friend the Home Member referred to, I will give a brief unvarnished tale of what happened. That was a week before the critical 3rd of February 1928—the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission at Bombay. On that date there were two rival meetings advertised to take place at what is known as the Tilak Ghat or Triplicane Beach opposite the Presidency College. After a time, when the Mussalman members of our audience headed by Mr. Yaqub Hasan, the President, retired to prayer, and our meeting was going on, a large number of people from the other meeting rushed on our meeting, threw stones and handfuls of sand in the eyes of our people, used lathis, soda water bottles, and air guns aided and abetted by at least one member of the police who 'was present,' and whose name I shall give to my friend during the lunch hour if he wants, and created a disturbance which practically frightened every member of an audience of 10,000. I am not very proud of the fact that 10,000 people got so easily frightened; but that is due to the systematic policy of this Government of disarming the people and demoralizing them to the extent they can. (Cries of shame.) Dr. Varadarajulu Nayudu and myself and others stood on the platform for 15 minutes when rowdies aided and defended by the police used lathis. (Shame.) After 10 or 15 minutes, remembering

our creed of non-violence, we retired from the meeting. We never went to the Government House. We went to our Government House—Mahajana Sabha. Sir, I do not know when my hon. Friend got this information, whether he verified it, and why he should have made this statement. I thought my hon. Friend was a gentleman. I have to revise my notions of him. He has no ideas of political honour, of what is due to political opponents. I have differed from him, but I have never desired to accuse him of many things: how he went about begging for jobs? Sir, is it right to go on reading from C.I.D. reports and accusing people?

"As for the undertaking supposed to have been given by the revered President of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee and by the President of the Madras District Andhra Congress Committee, the way in which he has talked of them shows the stuff of which he is made. Those men are men who if they had cared could have sat over his head as Viceroy's Executive Council Members or Governors of Provinces, men of greater educational attainments, men of greater abilities and of greater self-sacrifice, than he, who is unfit to unloose the shoe strings on their legs." (Laughter.)

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The Council will now adjourn and re-assemble at half past two."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"I am thankful to you, Sir."

After Lunch (2-30 p.m).

Mr. N. SIVA RAJ :—"Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. Th hon. Member for the University when he was speaking about the hon. the Home Member before lunch addressed him that he was unfit to occupy the post and so on."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"What is the point of order there?"

Mr. N. SIVA RAJ :—"He said he was unfit and also used some other expressions. (Voices: 'What are those expressions?')

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"What is the point of order? If I understand Mr. Siva Raj aright, he seems to suggest that no member of this Council is entitled to say that a particular member has not got the same merit or capacity as another member or an outsider. Does he say that?"

Mr. N. SIVA RAJ :—"Of course that is the meaning of the remark of my hon. Friend Mr. Satyamurti, but I am objecting to the expression he used."

Mr. MAHMUD SCHAMNAD SAHIB :—"Mr. President, he said that the hon. the Home Member is not fit to unloose the latchet of the shoes of his masters . . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Does the hon. Member admit that he said so?"

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Yes, Sir."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Then I think, it is better to withdraw that expression."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"Yes, Sir, if you think so."

"Sir, I am thankful for the lunch hour having been allowed to intervene between the close of my speech and this time. I am anxious to avoid all excitement in the course of this debate. Naturally, as any otherhon. Member

20th March 1929] [Mr. S. Satyamurti]

would have been, I too was provoked by the kind of language used by my hon. Friend the Home Member. I do not know if 'pretence' is a parliamentary word. But I do not propose to raise a point of order.

"Sir, the hon. the Home Member in referring Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar who for some time occupied the high position of His Majesty's Advocate-General for Madras and Mr. Nageswara Rao Pantulu, a great and distinguished Andhra patriot and the President of the Andhra Districts Congress Committee, Madras, characterised them as having made a 'pretence' of leading a procession towards the harbour. I ask my hon. Friends on the other side, whether it is consistent with one's ideas of gentlemanliness, whether it is right of even the hon. the Home Member to accuse men who are his equals, if not his superiors, of false conduct, of untrue conduct, of conduct which is not worthy of a gentleman, especially when they are not here, and when they cannot defend themselves. I was present on that occasion along with several other hon. Members of this House, and we were physically prevented from going onwards. There were fiery spirits amongst us who wanted to break the police cordon, and if orders had been issued by our leaders to march onwards, the police cordon would have been broken. Of course, Mr. President, ultimately the police would have triumphed by the use of rifles and other things. Undoubtedly, Mr. President, having pledged themselves to a creed of non-violence, our leaders rightly apprehended that there would be bloodshed, if they allowed the procession to march further and they therefore withheld from proceeding further. Is it for that they are being accused? Does the hon. the Home Member want that they should have actually broken the police cordon and inevitably created bloodshed by fighting with the police? If we had marched further, there would have been violence, and we would have been termed breakers of the peace. I do not know how to please the hon. the Home Member. I do not know either he wants us to break the police cordon or not to break it. If we break it and march further to the harbour, then he would charge us for having committed a breach of the peace. If we do not march to the harbour, then he charges us of having made a pretence of it. I say, to say the least, this is most ungentlemanly and unchivalrous.

"Let me take this House to the prologue to this incident. We understood on the highest authority that if we did go and hold our meeting in the beach near the Springheaven Road, there would have been an inevitable clash between the opposing forces of those who wanted to welcome the Simon Commission and those who wanted to avoid the welcome. We were told on the highest authority that we should not and we thought about it very carefully and when we were deliberating upon the best course, under the circumstances, we were told again by that highest authority that, if we did so, we would be prevented by physical force and dispersed. These were the words used by the highest authority. In that state of affairs, knowing the incident of last year and the part played by the police therein, we were anxious that we should not come in contact with the opposing forces and create bloodshed. I protest most strongly against this accusation being levelled against gentlemen who are held in the highest esteem not only in this province but throughout the country.

"Now to go back to the incident of 26th January 1928, I want to remind the hon. the Home Member and the House that as a matter of fact the police were present at the place and at the time of this rioting taking place none of

[Mr. S. Satyamurti] [20th March 1929

the police force came to our assistance. When we found that we could not get on with the meeting, and when the platform was being invaded, we had to disperse the meeting and naturally we had to go home. Does the hon. the Home Member want us to stick to our places and does he consider that we are guilty of that charge? Suppose some 100 rowdies walk into this House with lathis and knives, does the hon. the Home Member want all of us to stick ourselves to our places?"

The hon. Mr. T. E. MOIR :—"Yes, yes."

* Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"My hon. Friend, the Finance Member, says 'yes' and he will have his credit. Even the House of Commons has been the scene of such incidents and we have never seen Members there sticking to their places, and fighting there. If my hon. Friend, the Finance Member, has such primitive notion of preventing bloodshed, it is because he belongs to the steel frame and believes in the policy of 'blood and iron'. But I believe in dealing with human nature, we have to take into consideration the human mind. This is a questien where we ought to consider whether we should create bloodshed or not create bloodshed. We have to see whether an unarmed crowd could go on, standing in the same place and face an armed crowd. We are pledged to non-violence. That is the theory on which we should act. We wanted to tell the Government that they would get our co-operation in non-violence and that we would always be non-violent. If Government now say that that is not the theory they are going to propagate, but they want violence for violence, then we may welcome it. After all, we are many and they are few. But we were moved by a high sense of responsibility; we too have every respect for law and order as much as any body else, and so left the platform to the rowdies and went home. But my hon. Friend, the Finance Member, tells me 'that whatever may happen we should remain there and fight.' If that is the real opinion of the Government, I have no hesitation in welcoming it.

"I want every hon. Member of this House to understand that during these days in January and February 1928, when the Commission arrived in Bombay such disorders as took place in Madras were with the aid and connivance of police, certainly passive, if not active. The trouble in Madras near the High Court arose probably owing to the enthusiasm of crowds and owing to the indiscreet acts of certain people, both Europeans and Indians. But the two incidents to which I am referring to, I am speaking from my personal knowledge. These are instances where the police were dangerous to public peace. When the procession headed by myself and others was going from the Mahajana Sabha Hall in the Mount Road to the beach, a number of constables, sergeants and inspectors were going before and behind them and a number of people threw stones at us and the police never interfered, but merely looked on. That is the way in which the police behaved. The incident near the iron bridge is too well remembered to be forgotten by the citizens of Madras from the way in which the police on the spot were behaving towards the people who were attacked, but would not deal with the rowdies. Some of the citizens were molested and missiles were thrown on the people. I am sorry that in a debate of this nature where we should raise large questions of retrenchment, methods of Indianization and so on, my hon. Friend, the Home Member, should have introduced personal consideration and sought to justify the conduct of the police. Assuming that all his arguments against us are correct, how will the

20th March 1929] [Mr. S. Satyamurti]

hon. the Home Member justify the action of the police in displaying all their forces for the purpose of, as we saw it ourselves, terrorizing those who wanted to non-co-operate with the Simon Commission and encouraging those who wanted to co-operate with it ? My deliberate charge against the City Police is, both last year and this year, that they used all their giant's strength for the purpose of demoralizing, if possible, those who wanted to non-co-operate with the Simon Commission, and encouraging those who wanted to co-operate with it. It is no wonder Sir John exclaimed at Ootacamund, 'Why all this protection of police for me ?' I cannot have better testimony to the officiousness and bungling, if not worse, of the police at Madras, than that of Sir John Simon's.

" There are other points however with regard to police administration on which I want to say a few words. I am one of those who believe that there ought to be more and more of rapid indianization in the police force. My hon. Friend, the Sheriff of Madras, gave a certificate to the police which my hon. Friend, the Home Member, cherished very highly. I may assure the hon. the Home Member that, whatever he does, he will get that testimony from the European Sheriff of Madras at any time. The police can do whatever it likes, and if strong measures are taken against Indians he is satisfied. Therefore this testimony is not worth very much from our point of view. 2-45 p.m.

" Then, as regards the question of pay and prospects of the police, I would say this thing, that, while the higher ranks are paid, while the European members are paid very highly, the Indian constables and head constables who have got to bear the brunt of the work in the heat of the day do not get as much as they should get. Especially in the mufassal and in Madras the ordinary constable does not get what I consider a living wage. Is it any wonder that sometimes this living wage is sought to be supplemented by methods the reverse of what one would associate with a police force ?

" In spite of his answer by figures about dacoities and robberies in Madras, may I ask him whether the dacoity in Justice Wallace's house has been detected ? What has the police done except shadowing respectable persons and giving reports which are obviously false ? Then, Sir, we have got, as my hon. Friend reminds me, the Mannady murder case and the Bangalore train tragedy. What has the police done with regard to any of these matters ? I say I agree with my hon. Friend from South Kanara that, in the matter of investigation and prevention of crimes, the police need very much to be improved. We, in Madras, are accustomed to the police merely as a force which will try to terrorize people or to get somehow convictions. They have not yet learnt the art of investigating crimes or preventing crimes. I may say this for what it is worth. I understand that the Madras police is developing deficiency in the art of investigation. They have got some well-known K.D.'s or men who are called desparados or delinquents. Whenever there is a crime committed, they get hold of some of these unfortunate fellows, and give them Rs. 5 or 10 to somehow or other find out the culprit. If these people do not do so, their horror becomes still more horrible. Lastly, Sir, dacoities have taken place in Madras which are yet undetected.

" Then, Sir, there is in the branch of the Criminal Investigation department, a special department, in which only Europeans and Anglo-Indians are appointed. No Indian is appointed to those posts. My hon. Friend, an

Indian, is considered fit enough to hold the portfolio ; but in a department under his charge no Indian is supposed to be good enough or to be qualified enough to hold that place. It seems to me, Sir, that that is also a factor which must be considered very carefully. I know, Sir, that the Lee Commission and other subsequent Parliamentary Commissions have held the view that the Indian Police and the Indian Civil Services are the key services of the country, that there should always be an European element in the Indian Police Service, and that it should not be reduced, whatever may be the cost. Now, I put it to my hon. Friend whether it is right that we should encourage the police in this manner to have European Superintendents and Europeans at the top. I think, Sir, as I said, we must have rapid indianization.

" Then I come to the question of the supernumerary officers and the strength of the supernumerary officers in the department. They have got Sub-Inspectors, Inspectors, Deputy Superintendents, Assistant Superintendents and District Superintendents. I remember, Sir, that a distinguished predeceseor of my hon. Friend, the late lamented K. Srinivasa Ayyangar, drafted a scheme of police administrative reform in which he wanted to eliminate one or the other, if not both these grades of intermediary officers, viz., Inspectors and Deputy Superintendents. Sub-Inspectors, I believe, are in charge of investigation of crimes and the District Superintendent is there to see that the work is carried on and is done in a proper and efficient manner. Then why have this fifth wheel to the coach—the Inspectors and the Deputy Superintendents ? It seems to me we have got too many officers in this department to justify us to make this large grant for the police.

" Then, Sir, how many listed posts are there now for the Provincial Service in the Police Department ? Have they been filled up ? If not, why have they not been filled up ? There is no Indian Superintendent of Police either. It seems to me, Sir, that from all these points of view it can be seen that the police are not doing their duties properly and they ought to be retrenched and indianized as completely and as rapidly as possible.

" One other matter, Sir. My hon. Friend said that, so far as the Police department administering the sections of the Criminal Procedure Code are concerned, he is satisfied that they are taking proper action. I remember the case of a Bengali, Mr. Manoranjan Gupta, who was arrested under section 151 of the Police Act, that new discovery of the hon. the Home Member or his subordinates, at dead of night, when he was ill, lying in his bed, dragged out of his bed, taken to the jail, kept there in the lock-up the whole of that night, produced before the Magistrate the next day and then released on bail. Was the peace of the Madras Presidency so insecure that, but for the arrest of this fragile Bengali young man on his sick bed and at dead of night, it would have been broken ? Does my hon. Friend, the Home Member, justify that action of the police ? The action of the police under section 151 against political workers, I must submit, is an abuse of the powers. So long as my hon. Friend holds the portfolio, he cannot be allowed to ride off on the plea that the police may do as they like ; he is responsible for the policy. Then, Sir, the proceedings under security sections which are being inaugurated all over the Presidency also cast a reflection upon the conduct of the police.

" Last, but not least, Sir, I would say that the police are directing all their activities towards the Congress movement in this Presidency. May I ask, is it right, is it chivalrous, is it just ? As I said the other day, if we break the

20th March 1929] [Mr. S. Satyamurti]

laws of the land, we must take the consequences and we will take the consequences. But, Sir, there is such a thing as playing the game. The Congress party is the only party here which is making the Government Members most uncomfortable; meet us with arguments, meet us with facts, meet us if you please with your voting strength. But is it right that you should use the giant's strength of the police and the Government to see somehow or other that we are demoralized or defeated at the polls? That is not playing the game. It is a game at which two can play. I put it to the Indian Home Member whether it is just that all the strength of the police should be used only against the Congress party of this province. The elections are coming on, and they are anxious that we should be defeated at the polls. But we are confident. The more we get the disrespect of the police, the more we get attention of the police, the more we shall get the respect and attention of our own people.

"My hon. Friend said that the police should have the co-operation of the people; yes, if they deserve it; if the police do not and are not getting the co-operation of the people, it is because they do not deserve it; they have not earned it; they have not deserved it. In London when a case of some unsavoury nature was brought against a big man and the police were supposed to be involved in it, there was an uproar in the House of Commons, a public enquiry was demanded and was held and the report is just now published. To-day, we are bringing facts to the notice of this hon. House to prove to them that the police are dogging the footsteps of honourable and respectable gentlemen and are using all their forces for manufacturing a welcome to the Simon Commission. I put this to my hon. Friends, the elected and nominated Members; this turn may come to any one of them to-morrow. My friends of the Justice party who are leading a democratic movement may come into conflict with law. Some other Home Member will be there. Will they then laugh or shall we then laugh? I promise them 'no.' I feel in this matter that, so long as we are taking part in popular movements, we are bound to come into conflict with the police. When we so come into conflict with the police, we ought not to allow ourselves. . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member will resume his seat. The question is 'to reduce the allotment of Rs. 1,58,53,700 for Police by Rs. 100'."

The motion was put and declared lost.

Mr. Harisarvottama Rao demanded a poll and the House divided thus :—

Ayes.

1. Mr. P. C. Venkatapati Raju.
2. ,, K. Koti Reddi.
3. ,, R. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
4. ,, Sami Venkatachalam Chetti.
5. ,, S. Satyamurti.
6. ,, C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar.
7. ,, G. Harisarvottama Rao.
8. Basheer Ahmed Sayeed Sahib Bahadur.
9. Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar.
10. Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib Bahadur.
11. Mr. K. V. R. Swami.
12. ,, D. Narayana Raju.
13. Dr. B. S. Mallayya.
14. Mr. K. R. Karant.
15. ,, P. Anjaneyulu.
16. ,, C. Obi Reddi.
17. ,, A. Parasurama Rao.
18. Mr. C. Ramasomayajulu.
19. ,, T. Adinarayana Chettiyar.
20. ,, P. Bhaktavatsulu Nayudu.
21. Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo.
22. Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao.
23. ,, K. Uppi Sahib.
24. ,, Mothay Narayana Rao.
25. ,, C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar.
26. ,, K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar.
27. ,, C. Venkatarangam Nayudu.
28. ,, B. Venkataratnam.
29. ,, A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar.
30. Diwan Bahadur R. N. Arogyaswami Mudaliyar.
31. Mr. K. P. Raman Menon.
32. ,, R. Nagan Gowda.

[20th March 1929

Noes.

1. The hon. Sir Norman Marjoribanks.
2. ,, Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur.
3. ,, Mr. T. E. Moir.
4. ,, Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar.
5. ,, Mr. M. R. Seturatnam Ayyar.
6. ,, Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar.
7. ,, Dr. P. Subbarayan.
8. Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar.
9. ,, Hilton Brown.
10. ,, H. A. Watson.
11. ,, C. A. Souter.
12. ,, S. H. Slater.
13. ,, A. McG. C. Tampoe.
14. ,, C. W. E. Cotton.
15. ,, V. Ch. John.
16. ,, M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar.
17. Syed Tajudin Sahib Bahadur.
18. Mr. A. B. Shetty.
19. ,, R. Foulkes.
20. ,, P. J. Gnanavaram Pillai.
21. Mahmud Schamnad Sahib Bahadur.
22. Mr. Muppil Nayar of Kavalappara.
23. ,, J. Kuppuswami.
24. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappah Bahadur.
25. Mr. Al. Ar. Narayanan Chettiyar.
26. Rao Bahadur O. M. Narayanan Nambudripad.
27. Mr. T. M. Narayanaswami Pillai.
28. ,, N. Siva Raj.
29. Rao Sahib L. C. Guruswami.
30. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai.
31. ,, W. P. A. Soundara Pandia Nadar.
32. ,, S. Subrahmanya Moopanar.
33. ,, S. V. Vanavudaya Goundar.
34. ,, S. Venkiah.
35. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan.
36. Mr. C. E. Wood.
37. ,, F. H. Wright.
38. ,, F. E. James.
39. ,, H. E. P. Hearson.
40. ,, S. N. Dorai Raja.
41. ,, S. Arpudaswami Udayar.
42. The Zamindar of Kallikota.
43. K. Abdul Hye Sahib Bahadur.
44. Swami A. S. Sahajanandam.
45. Mr. G. R. Premayya.
46. Khan Bahadur Khalif-ul-lah Sahib Bahadur.
47. Mr. V. Ramjee Rao.
48. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro.
49. Diwan Bahadur P. C. Ethirajulu Nayudu.
50. Mr. P. T. Rajan.
51. Khan Bahadur S. K. Abdul Razack Sahib Bahadur.
52. Khan Sahib T. M. Moidu Sahib Bahadur.
53. Rao Bahadur K. Sitarama Reddi.
54. Mr. K. Sarabha Reddi.
55. The Zamindar of Mirzapuram.
56. The Kumararaja of Venkatagiri.
57. Mr. A. V. Bhanoji Rao.

Neutral.

1. Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi.
2. Diwan Bahadur P. Kesava Pillai.

Ayes 32. Noes 57. Neutral 2.

The motion was lost.

3 p.m. * The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I now put the demand to the vote of the House.

" The question is that Government be granted a sum not exceeding 158·59 lakhs under Demand XVI—Police."

The demand was put to the House and carried and the grant made.

DEMAND XVII—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

* The hon. Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—" On the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move—

> ' *that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs.* 30,000 *under Demand XVII—Ports and Pilotage* '."

Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—" Mr. President. . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" Order, order. I was made to understand by the Secretary of the Congress party that none of the cut motions would be moved. The indication from the Secretary was that this demand might be put to vote without discussion. I request the Secretary of the Congress party not to bother me hereafter with any notices or communications about the moving or not moving of the cut motions."

20th March 1929]

Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—" I am sorry that there has been some misunderstanding. I am telling you that I do not propose to move. . ."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member has got a right to speak and he may proceed with his speech."

Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—" Mr. President, Sir, my object in taking part in this debate is to urge upon the necessity of amending the Madras Port Trust Act. . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member will not be in order to refer to any proposals for legislation."

Mr. SAMI VENKATACHALAM CHETTI :—" I bow to your ruling. I do not propose to make any speech."

The demand was then put to the House and carried and the grant was made.

DEMAND XVIII—SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS (OTHER THAN HYDRO-ELECTRIC SURVEYS).

* The hon. Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" Mr. President, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I move—

'*that Government be granted a sum not exceeding Rs.* 72,000 *under Demand XVIII—Scientific Departments (other than Hydro-Electric Surveys).*"

The demand was put to the House and carried and the grant was made.

DEMAND XIX—EDUCATION—RESERVED.

* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" Mr. President, Sir, on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor, I beg to move—

'*that Government be granted a sum not exceeding* 7·98 *lakhs under Demand XIX—Education—Reserved*'."

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" Mr. President, Sir, I beg to move the amendment standing in my name, viz.—

'*to reduce the allotment of Rs.* 7,97,700 *for Education—Reserved, by Rs.* 100.'

" to urge abolition of reservation in education and effect economies.

" Sir, this is an old question which I once raised in this House and I stand here to repeat it. In the name of civilization and in the name of democracy there does not seem to be any reason for retaining longer in the hands of the Reserved department a part of education. The subject of education is a Transferred one and that portion of it which relates to European schools only is Reserved. In no civilized country would a position like this be tolerated. Education is a common purpose. It is a common purpose not only for the people of one nation, but it is a common purpose for the people of the whole world. These are days when we find the establishment of universities on a cosmopolitan basis. Even men like Sir Rabindranath Tagore have been attempting to do their best to give culture a world-wide nature and it has been set apart for this Government to set at nought all canons of development of culture and introduce differentiation into the educational system in this country.

[Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao] [20th March 1929

It was sometimes argued that this was education in the English language and that therefore it was necessary in the interests of pupils whose mother-tongue is English. I can understand culture being imparted in any language and I should not feel any compunction in advocating schools that are run in the English language where such a course becomes necessary. As a matter of fact it is the misfortune of this country to have schools run in the English language even for children whose mother-tongue is not the English language. In the girls' schools of this city, I find that from the first form onwards every lesson is taught in the English language. Although a great deal has been said of vernacularization, yet it is very far away from realization in the boys' schools, not to speak of the universities. Therefore the argument that this is intended to be a way out of the difficulty where English-speaking people are concerned, may not stand. The only argument that can be adduced on behalf of reservation in this manner is this, that the civilization of the Europeans is a higher civilization than the civilization of other sections in this country. That is really the inward motive of this reservation. I am afraid, Sir, that it is a comment on the British administration of 150 years. I repudiate the claim of the European to a higher civilization. Our country has possessed, possesses and is bound to possess a better form of civilization than any other country in the world. Apart from that, the British Government has been here for over 100 years administering the affairs of this country and if they come forward to-day and tell us that to support their own civilization in a great measure to the children of this country they have to reserve a part of education in the hands of the Reserved section of Government, they condemn the whole educational policy of the British Government that has been carried on for the last 100 or 150 years."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"Order, order. I am considering whether I should allow a discussion on the question of the transference of some subjects from the Reserved to the Transferred list. No doubt under the demand for Executive Councils and Secretariats in previous years the question of the transference of subjects was allowed to be discussed though it was not quite relevant to the budget debate. But here, considering the fact that the whole question is being examined by an outside body, I do not know whether the Congress party should be very anxious to speak on this subject. Hon. Member must be aware that it is only within the province of the Secretary of State to allow transference of subjects as long as the present constitution remains and that the matter has nothing to do with the powers of the local Government."

Mr. S. SATYAMURTI :—"According to the Government of India Act, the local Government can recommend after the end of five years for the transference of any of the subjects."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"As far as the question of recommendations of the local Government are concerned, every Member of the Council is aware of the recommendations that have already been made by the local Government regarding the question of transference. I do think that I shall not be justified in cutting out the debate, but I think no useful purpose will be served and I leave it to the House and more especially to the Leader of the Opposition whether, under these circumstances, the question has to be discussed at all."

Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Mr. President, it is not the intention of the Congress party to suggest that any Reserved subject should be transferred. Understanding that this cut only means that the reservation of schools

to Europeans should be given up, I do not think my party is at all anxious to impress that aspect of the question."

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" Mr. President, I never intended to convey the idea that it should be a Transferred subject or a Reserved subject. My point was that in an administration like this, there was no room and it was wrong that any part of education should have been specially set apart for administration in the interests of a particular type of civilization. It was the question of administration that I was raising. I had no intention of saying whether it should be transferred or not. To my mind it appears that there was absolutely no need for a department of this kind and that the department should immediately be abolished. I am not talking of the transference at all. The department does not deserve to be there. That is my contention and therefore the department has to be abolished. It is in that view, Sir, that I was speaking on the question.

"I was saying, Sir, that the point about the language of the children does not arise, in so far as there are institutions already and there can be institutions run where English forms the medium of instruction and there is no need to press the point of specialized civilization, because that is a bubble that has been pricked sufficiently and exploded, except that it still persists in the imperialistic Britisher who arrogates to himself a higher type of life than the rest of the world. I therefore have much pleasure in moving this cut motion."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" For want of a seconder the motion is lost. The grant is for the discussion of the House." 3-15 p.m.

* Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED :—" I rise, Sir, to speak on the grant. This is, Sir, a subject that is in the hands of the Indian Home Member. I think the Muslim community, according to the verdict of the Muhammadan Educational Association of Southern India, of which the hon. the Home Member is the president, stands in the same position as the European community in this country. It is not my view, it is the view of that association. Then, Sir, that association has pressed on the Government, and the hon. Minister for Education and the hon. the Home Member that Muslim education should be placed under the care of a special inspectorate and that it should form a separate subject and be placed within the portfolio of one of the Members of Government. I want to know whether the hon. the Home Member who is in charge of European education has referred the subject to the Government or will take steps to see that Muslim education becomes a Reserved subject even as his own association wanted. Sir, that association has also submitted a memorandum to the Hartogg Committee to that effect. I only refer to this to find out what opinion he holds on the memorandum submitted by his association and whether he will influence the Government to place Muslim education on the same footing as European education."

The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—" Sir, with regard to Muslim education, it does not belong to the portfolio of the Home Member, and therefore I cannot dictate any policy. That subject belongs to the Minister for Education and it should therefore be referred to him."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The question is ' Government be granted a sum not exceeding 7·98 lakhs under Demand XIX—Education—Reserved '."

The demand was put to vote and carried and the grant was made.

DEMAND XX—EDUCATION—TRANSFERRED.

* The hon. Dr. P. SUBBARAYAN :—" Sir, I beg to move that on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor Government be granted a sum not exceeding 197·88 lakhs under Education—Transferred."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The question is Government be granted a sum not exceeding 197·88 lakhs under Demand XX--Education--Transferred."

* Mr. BASHEER AHMED SAYEED :—" Sir, I move—

'*to reduce the allotment of Rs.* 1,94,92,000 *for Education—Transferred by Rs.* 100.'

" In moving this motion I shall not take much time of the House. I have got only a few points to place before the hon. the Chief Minister. I want to refer to the policy of education that is being pursued in this Presidency by the Education Minister. The original policy, which was known as the 'filtration theory', pursued before the fifties of the last century is still continued by the hon. the First Minister. Originally when Government first took up the subject of education in India it was urged that Government should themselves take up the task of educating the people of this country; but the Governors and Governors-General decided that education should be placed entirely in the hands of private and local enterprise. That theory was followed for a very long time and very strictly and strenuous efforts were made by men like the late Mr. Gokhale to make expenditure on education one of the important charges upon the revenues of the Government and it was after a long struggle and with great reluctance that the Elementary Education Act was passed in one or two of the legislatures of the country and was also assented to by the Government of India. Still, in spite of the repeated and persistent resolutions, the Government of India would not permit the Provincial Governments taking upon themselves the whole charge of educating the people. Even to-day a very large portion of education is in the hands of local and private agencies, and the result is that we are to-day in the sphere of education, where we were years ago. I assert that in this country, if education is to be spread, it cannot be done without Government undertaking that task upon themselves. At first private efforts were concentrated on high schools and colleges and Government supported them by means of grants-in-aid. Then arose the need for universities and Government found themselves compelled to establish a few of them and so they founded a few universities and colleges in all important centres, like the Presidency towns. But, when the need for more high schools arose private effort could not cope with the demand. And still Government would not open enough high schools to meet the demand. But fortunately at that time the gates were thrown open to missionaries and they emigrated to this country in large numbers with enormous funds and established high schools to relieve the demand. Thus it will be seen how reluctant Government were to educate the people. But in spite of that theory of 'filtration down' having failed and it was settled that the education of the people should be from the lowest stages, primary and secondary education was not taken up in right earnest and Government only made up their mind to allow municipalities to take upon themselves the task of educating the people at the earlier stages but without the means for it Even after the reforms they would not allow sufficient funds for the rapid spread of education among the masses. They allowed municipalities to levy cess and the revenues from these cesses have always proved inadequate and insufficient. And even in the matter of the

utilization of Government grants by municipalities, whose revenues are already meagre and tender, they have imposed several limitations. I may refer to only one instance which was the subject-matter of controversy between the Corporation and the Government. I mean the question of providing the pupils in the Corporation schools with midday meals. The poor people who send their children to these schools find it difficult to provide their children with midday meals and consequently on account of their poverty they have to stop sending them to school. The Government must note that besides providing for midday meals, the parents have to provide their children with neat dress. How can the poor parents afford to do all these things? Therefore I would urge upon Government to take upon themselves the responsibility of educating the boys of this country up to the primary and elementary stage, and make it free, compulsory and universal. Concentration by Government on higher and collegiate .education, and leaving primary and elementary education in the hands of private local efforts and local self-governing institutions, has proved futile and not conducive to any progress. So much for the policy of education pursued by Government.

"Then, Sir, with regard to the system of education, the very old system originally brought into existence by the East India Company is being continued to this day. The hon. the Minister for Education, himself a very educated man, a Doctor from Dublin, has not thought fit to change the system of education in this Presidency, in spite of the two and a half years of the responsible position he has been holding. He claims as a feather in his cap the amendment of the Madras University Act. What is it, except the amending of the old Act of Sir Patro. It remains the same old ass in the tiger's skin? By the Amending Act what has he done except to abolish the Council of Affiliated Colleges? There has been no substantial change in the system of education carried on by this University. Has the Madras University been made a teaching and residential university? It may be said to be a teaching university only in the sense that some professors of private colleges are styled professors and readers of the university, giving lectures to the students of the other colleges besides their own, and for this they are paid by the University. It may be said that he has established the Chidambaram University and for that he was congratulated. For that, the Founder had also to be congratulated. But while the Founder has been conferred the title of 'Raja', I do not know why the hon. the Chief Minister has not been rewarded with a similar title. For he had secured for that university a sum of 27 thousand rupees. I do not know why Government have not thought it fit also to confer on the hon. the Finance Member a similar title; for has he not sanctioned 27 thousand rupees for that university. I hold and maintain that the Annamalai University is a luxury and the Madras University was more than enough to cater for collegiate education. How long is the present system of education to go on? Are our boys to be mere cramming machines? Is there to be no scope for our boys to develop and utilize their faculties in fruitful channels? Sir, times without number the Education Minister had admitted and acknowledged that the present system of education was very defective and that it required a radical change; and still he has not done anything in that direction.

"Then, Sir, with reference to the Industrial Institutes, Engineering and other such colleges where instruction in technical subjects is said to be imparted, what are the students taught there? The students coming out of

those colleges are fit for nothing except for clerkships in Government service. Are they able to start any industrial concerns themselves; are they proficient to serve in any industrial concern; are they able to inspire in moneyed people the spirit of enterprise to start industrial concerns? No, they are fit for nothing except to serve in Government offices. The graduates of the Engineering College are left in the lurch if they are not employed in the Public Works Department. They are not fit to undertake any engineering project by themselves, nor are they capable of evolving and working out any independent schemes of engineering. Our universities have produced no captains of industry, no leaders in commercial enterprise. Higher chemistry so essential in every process of manufacture is not taught by the universities or technical institutes. The higher sciences such as metallurgy, dyeing and minerology, etc., have not been thought of hitherto by the Education Department in this Presidency.

"With regard to the condition of particular communities, I do not want to dilate upon that. The necessity for the rapid education of the backward communities like the depressed classes is an admitted one. I am very sorry, whenever I have to refer to the backward communities, I have to add also the Muslim community. (Laughter.) Sir, the facilities that have to be afforded to these communities are but just, legitimate and very necessary. But the hon. the Minister will not do anything. Much has been talked of the parental love that Government have for the depressed classes, but what have they done for them in the matter of education? What is the proportion of the depressed classes that is now going through the university, the secondary and elementary courses of education? They have not progressed even to a slightest extent. The same thing applies to the other communities. I want that adult education and also education of the female section of the population are attended to promptly with greater zeal and sincerity by the
3-30 Minister for Education. The education of adults has not at all been cared
.m. for by the Minister. There is no scheme evolved, and there is no policy enunciated hitherto with regard to the education of adults. And with regard to female education in the various communities, except the one old school for Muslim girls in the City of Madras, the Minister in his long period of office of two and a half years has not established any new school. And except the one college, the Queen Mary's College, no other facility has been afforded for non-Muslim girls in the Presidency for their education. I therefore hope, Sir, that the Minister will not do things in the manner in which he has done hitherto, but will take interest, real interest, in the matter of education and carry out a well-thought-out policy, viz., the Government taking up itself education as their primary function and itself making it a first charge on the revenues of the State.

"I want to mention one other thing, and that is the policy of Government in providing funds for such institutions as do not admit a certain section of the public. For instance, I refer to one or two exclusive colleges which do not admit within their portals students of other communities. I do not see what justification there is for public funds being utilized for the sake of those colleges or institutions from which certain sections of the public are excluded and not allowed to derive the benefit.

"With regard to religious and moral instruction, the Government has always taken shelter under the policy of 'religious neutrality.' They will not and ought not to interfere in religious matters. But it is their duty

that they should make provision for such of the students as require to be educated on religious and moral lines: they should provide them with facilities for the purpose. It is but fair that the Government should allow the members of such communities to be educated according to their own systems of religion and on their own systems of morality rather than take shelter under the so-called policy of 'non-interference.' The Government has said that religious education might be provided in the school at the cost of the management, but why should they deny these institutions the benefit of public funds? I do not see what difficulty there is in the matter.

"With regard to Mappilla education and stipends to Muslim pupils I do not wish to say much. It is a patent fact that nothing appreciable has been done in the direction. I hope the Minister will take note of these and make amends therefor. I have therefore great pleasure in making this motion."

*Mr. K. P. Raman Menon:—"Sir, if I may be permitted to make a suggestion to the hon. Minister in charge of Education, I would just make one submission for the benefit of the depressed classes. As the hon. Member is aware, so far as the education of the Mappillas of Malabar is concerned, a special officer has been deputed to take charge of that branch of education. May I suggest with reference to the depressed classes a special officer may be appointed for the whole presidency and that in each district headquarters or taluk headquarters schools may be opened at which stipendiary students could be educated so that these stipendiary students may hereafter be employed as teachers in schools devoted to the education of the depressed classes and depressed classes alone? It is only by tackling the question like that that you will be able to solve the question of the education of the depressed classes. Much has been said about the exclusiveness of schools in which higher castes are educated. Much has been said also of their reluctuance to admit boys of the depressed classes. When once you set up schools at which boys of the depressed classes alone are educated as stipendiary students, you will be able to get a larger number of teachers who can be broadcast over the land and who will take charge of education of the depressed classes, and you will thus be able to develop these classes to a state of equality with the other advanced classes. And in that way the educational problem of the depressed classes can be solved. Until that is done this difficulty will not be solved. I put that suggestion forward for the consideration of the hon. Minister."

*Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo:—"Sir, the Government of India Act of 1919 lays down that after the ten years of its operation there will be a Statutory Commission appointed to investigate many things of which education is an important item. . ."

*Mr. G. Harisarvottama Rao:—"I rise to a point of order, Sir."

*The hon. the President:—"Is the hon. Member ready with his point of order? If not, Mr. Biswanath Das will continue his speech."

*Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo:—"Sir, the hon. the Minister for Education who undertook to work the Act of 1919 . . ."

*Mr. P. C. Venkatapati Raju:—"On a point of order, Sir. I want to know whether the motion has really been seconded by Mr. Raman Menon or not. There was an hon. gentleman who stood up to second the motion at the time. Discussion is now being continued without permission being allowed to the hon. gentleman for seconding it."

[20th March 1929

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" I am not yet able to understand the question raised in this point of order. The motion is to record disapproval of the educational policy of the Government. If the hon. the Leader of the Opposition will kindly look into the object of the motion given in the agenda, he will see that it is about the educational policy of Government. And I hope he recognizes that the educational policy regarding Mappillas and depressed classes also comes under this word 'policy'. And a Member that seconds need not exhaust all the list that has been mentioned by the Mover. (At this stage Mr. Harisarvottama Rao stood up to speak.) The hon. Member must recognize that no Member can get up and disturb the President while he is on his legs. That is an elementary principle, and if any Member hereafter violates that elementary principle, I will have to enforce the provisions of the rules. (Mr. Harisarvottama Rao again rose up to speak.) Will Mr. Harisarvottama Rao apologize ? "

* Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" I beg your pardon ; I have no objection to apologize, Sir, and I unreservedly do it. I never intended to offend the President."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The hon. Member will resume his seat."

* Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—" We naturally expected that the hon. Minister for Education will have not only a policy but also a programme of work to carry on the expansion of education in this province. It is a great surprise after he has been in charge of this department for two and a half years we find that he has no policy nor has he attempted to evolve a policy and much less a programme for education specially for primary education. The Ministry from whom he took charge gave undertakings after undertakings to the hon. Members of this House on this floor that they would pay particular attention to elementary education with a view to see that free compulsory education is very soon started in this province. Not only was the idea of compulsory education given up but also the policy that was started by the late Ministry to open a school in every village with a population of 500 is also buried underneath. To this day there are villages with this population of 500 which have yet to get their schools. Regarding the policy of education, the Government before handing over charge to the Reformed Government enacted a number of Acts of which the Elementary Education Act of 1919 was one. The hurried way in which the Government went on to enact the Act was protested by the people of this province. It had in it a number of reactionary measures for which both the Government and the people now, after its full operation, regret. The hon. Minister's predecessors in office time after time promised to revise the Act, and they had given us assurances that they were collecting information to revise the Act. The hon. the Chief Minister followed closely their footsteps, and took grants from this House to appoint a special officer to go into the whole question and put up an amending Bill very soon which would be satisfactory to this House. Even conferences were called for and every method was conceived though nothing came out of this long tedious strain of a conception ! Thus the code of policy handed by the bureaucracy is still their sacred canon. Secondary education too is equally neglected and uncared for. Sir, the old Ministry started the secondary education boards on mere executive authority and then took time to consider the question of secondary education being put on a statutory basis. I think five years have already elapsed since the day when his predecessor in office, Sir Patro, gave us the promise. Long have we waited and yet we are to see no Bill in sight.

20th March 1929] [Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo]

Then, Sir, big promises were made time and again to vernacularize the secondary education courses. The University of Madras as also the Andhra University were consulted. The district secondary education boards were also asked to give their opinions. But we have yet to know what has resulted from these consultations. Then, Sir, looking into the educational report, hon. Members will see that the main stay in the progress of education are the aided institutions. The hon. Minister for Education during the whole period of his office with his pocket full of money, nay now overflowing, has done little to encourage these institutions, except that he enhanced the grant in aid to elementary schools by pittance of one rupee a month. Want of a well-regulated policy or programme has made the hon. Minister lapse year after year large sums of money. As a member of the Public Accounts Committee it was my painful duty to see that the Transferred Departments and specially the Education Department has allowed lakhs of rupees to lapse though in the mufassal the cry of want of funds is dinned into our ears. The old Ministry as well as their successors gave us very many promises that the educational outlook would be altogether changed soon after the remission of the provincial contributions. The provincial contributions have been remitted for these two years and yet we fail to see any progress. No programme has been laid either before this country or before this hon. House regarding the advancement of education.

" Though the Director of Public Instruction is a gentleman with sympathy, the grip of the bureaucracy is seen in the administration of the Education Department. The District Educational Officer of Vizagapatam is a gentleman who hails from Malabar. I do not know to what extent he will be useful in giving model lessons in the elementary schools or in the training schools, if it is the intention of the hon. Minister that the Educational officers of a district should know the vernaculars of the place to which they are posted. We, especially the Oriyas and the Kanarese, have to enter into a caveat against reactionary policy of Government. It is time that they remove such difficulties. Such difficulties are felt even in the posting of Deputy Inspectors, with the result that the so-called inspection does nobody any good. When you post a Telugu Deputy Inspector for Oriya schools or a Tamil Deputy Inspector for Kanarese or Telugu schools, the object of inspection as also of setting model lessons is totally frustrated. I heard from my colleagues that similar difficulties are felt in Kanarese areas. I appeal to the hon. Minister to see that such mistakes are not repeated, to avoid heart-burning, and minimize expense to Government and inconvenience to the people. 3-45 p.m.

" Then, Sir, I come to scholarships. Their distribution has been far from satisfactory, especially so with regard to scholarships tenable in foreign countries. Fortunately or unfortunately in this country we have four or five language areas, i.e., Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Oriya and Kanarese. It is time that the Government learn that every area should have a chance of sending their men to foreign countries on deputation or on scholarships to students tenable there. The Oriya area has not at all been benefited by such scholarships. I do not know about other languages nor do I propose to deal with them. I therefore earnestly implore that the various language areas should be given opportunities to get the benefits of these scholarships tenable in foreign countries as also in Bombay and Bangalore for industrial and technical training. The progress of education during the hon. Minister's regime is very small. When reforms

began we had 4·4 per cent of the population receiving instruction. In 1925-26, that is just, after the close of the Justice regime, it was 5·5, and now, after two and half years, it is only 5·7. If this be the progress of elementary education, it will take generations and not decades before we reach our ideal of free compulsory education. (Hear, hear.)

" One point more and I shall have done, and that is about the abolition of the post of Agency Educational Officer. Sir, the Agency tracts in this country cover a wide area of 17,000 square miles, with about 1,000 institutions, including two high schools, about six middle schools and a number of elementary higher schools and training institutions. Now, after the abolition of the Agency officer, it is proposed to allot the work to the Educational officers of the Ganjam, Godavari and Vizagapatam districts. The result will be that none of these educational officers will be able to do justice either to their own work or to the work in the Agency. Here it is my painful duty to express that the Government have taken a very wrong step in entrusting the work of inspection to the revenue divisional officers. In the first place, many of these officers are not people of those parts and know very little of the language of the place ; in the second place, they will not be able to do justice either to their revenue work or to the educational work ; and thirdly, I do not agree with the Government that the divisional officers, the steel frame of the province, have so very elastic feet to step into any pair of shoes. Government would therefore be better advised to have the educational officer for the Agency once more revived and those educational officers of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari be relieved of the Agency work.

" With these remarks, I hold that the hon. the Minister for Education within his long tenure of two and a half years has justified neither his promises nor our expectations and has therefore discredited himself and disappointed the country."

* Dr. (Mrs.) S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI :—" Mr. President, Sir, I rise to speak on this motion in order to know from the Government whether they have adopted any policy or programme for the extension and development of women's education, or what steps they are going to take in that direction, seeing that women's education is very backward. The latest figure for the girls' education in 1928 is 2·8. Of course, boys' education is backward also as compared with other civilized countries and as compared with the neighbouring Native States, where also girls' education is very much advanced. Again, as we rise in the educational ladder, the disparity between boys and girls increases, e.g., when we come to the secondary education, for every nine boys only one girl receives the benefit of higher education and in the case of university education one girl for every 24 boys is reading in the college. I am not so much concerned with university education for our girls, but I feel that primary and higher education must be within the reach of every boy and girl. The report of the Director of Public Instruction says that there is no hostility either from the parent or from the public to girls receiving higher education as when schools are opened for girls, they get filled to overflowing which shows that there is a keen demand for girls' schools. From the various interpellations put in this council and from the reports of women conferences, it is patent that there is a genuine desire on the part of the parents as well as the public to educate their girls. When we come to the expenditure on

20th March 1929] [Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi]

women's education, it is only 17·2 per cent of the total expenditure on education. Another interesting feature is that compared with the Anglo-Indian and Christian girls, the education of the Hindu and Muhammadan girls is very backward. That is because of the Mission aided agencies who are actively engaged in promoting the education of our girls, by which the Christian girls are benefited while the Muhammadan and Hindu girls are not attracted to these Christian institutions. Most of the Christian institutions are boarding institutions. Hindu and Muhammadan girls will not like to be boarders. Besides, these institutions are situated at a distance, away from the heart of the city. Of course we know it is not possible for Muhammadan girls who observe parda to go to such institutions. The parents of Hindu girls also do not like that their girls should walk long distance to attend a school. Especially, in the last quinquennium the progress of girls' education has not been satisfactory as compared with the previous quinquennium. In the previous quinquennium, i.e., 1917--1922, the institution for girls rose by 58 per cent, whereas in this quinquennium, 1922--27, by 26 per cent. This was due to the fact that no provincial subsidy was given towards the development of girls' education during the last quinquennium and the primary education was transferred to the charge of local bodies, which local bodies have not been very enthusiastic to open girls' schools in their areas, and the result was that the girls lagged very much behind the boys. Again, when compulsion was introduced by 27 municipalities only three municipalities introduced compulsion for both boys and girls. That is also another reason why girls lagged behind boys. As for women teachers, they are reluctant to take service under local bodies because they have to appear before a tribunal of men and also their appointments under local bodies are not ensured. So, I would suggest that there should be a local committee of women to look after the girls' education in the districts. The local committee may consist of the Inspectress of schools and the wives of officials with the headmistresses of secondary schools which committee may be entrusted with the task of developing girls' education. They would be a sort of advisory body to the local bodies; they would submit suggestions to the local bodies so that they may act upon those suggestions; they would be responsible for the opening of schools, for the appointment and transfer of women teachers and drawing up syllabuses and curricula. Also the provincial subsidy must be earmarked, that certain amount should be spent on the development of girls' education and compulsion for girls should be insisted on whenever a scheme is submitted because when compulsion is applied only to boys, the girls are put to a disadvantage as parents in the villages make the girls do the work of boys and it is not in the interests of either our individual progress or national progress that this dualism should be allowed to continue--the dualism of educated manhood and ignorant womanhood.

"As regards secondary education of girls, in the last quinquennium, only one girls' school was opened, in spite of the fact that there are in the whole presidency only a few secondary schools which are chiefly located in the municipalities. There is only one Muhammadan secondary girls' school for the whole presidency, which is in the city of Madras. So it is no wonder if there is a gap between the secondary education of boys and that of girls. It is therefore necessary that Government should take up the responsibility of opening up a large number of secondary schools in the districts within a few years. Of the 41 aided agencies, only one is serving the needs of Muhammadan and Hindu girls. I will strongly urge upon the attention of the Government that the secondary education of girls be provincialized.

[Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi] [20th March 1929

"Now, coming to co-education, it will not be possible without a sufficient number of women teachers on the staff. In the mixed schools where there are men teachers, they do not pay sufficient attention to the girls. The girls are generally made to sit in the back benches, away from the board and light. Not only that, the men teachers turn their backs towards the girls and they never ask questions. Unless there are a sufficient number of women teachers who will combine tact, patience and love towards the girls, girls' education will not make any rapid advance; and they won't attain any permanent literacy if they read only up to the third class. Therefore, the Government should have a definite programme for opening up a large number of training schools in the districts to train the village women for working in the village schools.

4 p.m. "I have said, Sir, that secondary education has been dominated by the University standard. As we know, Sir, secondary education for boys, as at present, has produced a large number of literary men who are going about the country without any employment. Now I do not want that fate should befall our girls. The number of girls who take to professions such as teaching, medicine, etc., is very small and the majority of girls are meant for home life and our social system is such that our girls marry very early at the age of 13 or 14 and the education that has to be imparted to them should be such as to enable them to look after their homes in a most efficient manner.

"Sir, we need an Indian University on the lines of the University started at Poona. Further, I do not want commercial value to be put on girls' education as is now done with the boys' education. We have learnt to our cost that pure literary education is of no use to our boys and we want vocational training. So, technical institutions should be opened for girls also. I have noticed hon. Members of this House asking for alternative courses of study for girls. Various women's conferences have suggested that they should have a parallel course as the majority of our girls do not want to enter professions. So they must be taught hygiene, physiology and a bit of anatomy as they will be of much use to them in their daily life.

"Then I would suggest that these subjects may be taught through the vernaculars and English may be a secondary subject. Unfortunately English is given prominence in our schools, but as our girls have to leave their schools when they are 13 or 14 it is better that they learn the varnacular so that they may acquire the required knowledge earlier. It would also be easier for them to learn if they were to be taught these things through the medium of the vernaculars. I think it is high time for the Government to provide a University for girls, both to satisfy the demands of the public and the parents and also to make women really practical and efficient wives. I find in the Queen Mary's College that the course of study for girls is the same as for the boys. What the girls have to get is a diploma in Domestic Science. I find, Sir, that in Madras there is an European school wherein this diploma is granted. Our Indian girls need this diploma much more than the Anglo-Indian girls who study for the sake of getting an employment. Similar diploma courses should be instituted in the Queen Mary's College. They are going to have a Geography course and a History course. What is the use of these courses? No doubt they gain knowledge, but what they need more is a knowledge of hygiene, physiology and domestic science,

20th March 1929] [Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi]

Under our present conditions there is so much of illness in our country due to ignorance. To minimize disease in our country, our girls should be trained in these subjects as they will be of immense value to them in their daily life.

"Regarding the training of women teachers, there should be a better type of training. As it is, we have not got a sufficient number of women teachers to teach kindergarten. In other countries women teachers with kindergarten training have proved very good teachers. We should have such women teachers.

"Regarding the scholarships and stipends, only 27 scholarships have been given for all the girls. There are the girls from backward communities, there are the girls from the Adi-Dravidas and non-Brahmin girls for undergoing secondary training in the Lady Willingdon School. That is very inadequate. We want a large number of women who have passed the School Final course to be trained in nursing and midwifery work. So, the Government should institute a large number of scholarships. There are some scholarships given by the Labour Department for Adi-Dravida girls which I find have not been applied for by them. Why not this be changed into residential scholarships.

"Then, as regards the play-grounds for girls, the less said the better. When compared with the provision made for the boys they are very unsatisfactory. Now, in our own city if anyone would visit the school for girls in Tulasingaperumal Koil street, he will find a school which has to accommodate 300 girls. The building in which this school is situated is utterly unsuited for a school. There is not sufficient light or air. The girls sit in darkness and read their books with the result that they will very soon become short-sighted. There is not sufficient room for these children to move about freely, and these children who are going to be future mothers of the nation! Are they to be kept and taught in such insanitary and unsuitable houses? It is an old house, centuries old, and it is now used for a school. Surely if the hon. the Chief Minister were to inspect the building to-morrow, he will not allow the school to be held there even for a day.

"Then there is the demand for the construction of a hostel for girls. This is a demand which is coming before the House for the last four or five years and yet nothing has been done. We are told that there is the Ice House. But, Sir, the Ice House is for widows. The lot of the widow is a very sorry tale known to all and we should not disturb the widows at any cost. Most of them come from orthodox families and their life is already miserable and we should think many times before we disturb these poor widows from their place. By allowing others to share the hostel with them, we will be inflicting on them a punishment. They will be withdrawn by their parents. They come from mufassal parts and their parents are very conservative. I want these widows to get educated and serve the country. They have not the choice of marriage and they will be very useful to the country either as teachers or midwives or nurses. Now we have women coming from western countries as nurses. We have not women of our own who could do such a kind of work. But Poona has now set an example. There is the Poona Seva Sadan who have opened a branch in Madras. They train the widows and send them to villages on mission work, as teachers, midwives and nurses. Our Presidency should encourage them by providing similar facilities.

[Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi] [20th March 1929

"As regards Muhammadan girls, higher education among them is very backward. They do not attend any of the missionary schools because of the parda. It is impossible to abolish parda in one day. We know what is happening in Afghanistan where King Amanullah has been forced to abdicate because he tried to break this parda. Now there is a demand from the Muslims themselves. They ask for compulsory education. The All-India Muslim Conference have passed a resolution for the compulsory education of their women. I know large numbers of Muslims are not giving up their parda. What can handful of women do? So I would ask the Government to provide conveyances. The question of finance may be raised. But I would humbly ask the hon. the Chief Minister after all what does the Government spend on the education of girls. It is not one-sixth of what they spend for the education of boys. So I would ask the Government that considering the many disabilities from which both Muslim and Hindu women are suffering it is their duty to give them education, which would bring them enlightenment and enable them to dispel ignorance and fight the time-honoured customs and habits which hamper their physical and mental growth."

* Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"I doubt, Mr. President, whether I would be at all in order in speaking on this motion which is to express disapproval of the educational policy of the Government. I am afraid there is no policy at all. Therefore when there is no policy, I am afraid I will not be in order in speaking on this motion. Whenever the Minister is asked as to what he has done, so far as the Education Department is concerned, he says 'I am considering,' as if that is an achievement. Any man may say so at any time that he is considering about everything and he may go on till his death saying that and that will be his achievement. So far as the Educational Department is concerned, there has been no policy or programme worth mentioning. Taking elementary education it is practically where it was, to my knowledge, half a decade ago. From the time he took up his post he has been repeating that elementary education was under consideration and the Director or the Deputy Directors and the Council Secretaries all of them have not been able to get even one section in the old Act amended or added which admittedly has not been working well. No doubt from the very beginning of this Reformed Council the expenditure has gone up from 1 crore to 2 crores. So far as education is concerned, our submission is that all this money is practically wasted, at least a large portion of it, for the officers at the top. There is a large increase in the number of directors and other subordinates. I do not think any real good is being done so far as elementary education is concerned. An ounce of action will be worth more than tons and tons of expression of sympathies.

4-15 p.m. "One great thing we have been agitating for is the amendment of the Grant-in-Aid Code that applies to all the departments of Education. The hon. Minister himself has in very many places stated that the Grant-in-Aid Code requires urgent revision. And yet, it is still being postponed and the question of the proportionate cost to be paid by the Government is still under consideration. The one complaint of teachers both in aided schools and in local board schools is the want of fixity of tenure. The hon. Minister has admitted that this question deserves early disposal. It seems that he has not finished consideration of this question also. Sir, we have had numerous complaints from the teachers in various localities saying that they

20th March 1929] [Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar]

are much disturbed by this want of fixity of tenure. I hope the hon. Minister will immediately revise the Grant-in-Aid Code granting these people fixity of tenure.

" Again, Sir, as regards the payment of grants to secondary schools, there is no fixed rule at all. A school in a particular place getting Rs. 100 this year is granted Rs. 1,000 next year. Again one school gets Rs. 100 while another school in the same locality gets Rs. 1,000. All this shows that the distribution of grants is made on no well-defined principle at all.

" So far as the secondary education boards are concerned, there again, the Government do not know their own mind. It was in 1923 just before the election for the Legislative Council in that year that these boards were created. The hon. Minister then in charge said that he would soon place the secondary education boards on a statutory basis. Five years have now gone by and a general election has been held and yet this promise has not been fulfilled. Not only that. The period of the existing secondary education boards is being extended from month to month and from year to year. Even the new members elected are not recognized and the Government takes no notice of them. The existing boards do nothing except probably recording that they meet and dissolve once in three months or so. (Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti: 'Much worse than this Council?') In spite of repeated requests to either give them some real power or dissolve them, nothing has been done.

" Therefore, Sir, so far as women's education is concerned, this Government have not got any policy. With regard to that, our lady representative has very well spoken of the wants of any policy so far as this Ministry is concerned. Can this Ministry show that any real progress has been made in regard to female education? No doubt appointments have been created, but no encouragement has been given to girls to come forward and join the schools. The one great need in regard to female education is the fixing of a proper curriculum. Every aided school for girls is now asked to simply teach the various subjects taught to boys and if there is a slight deviation from it, the school is deprived of the grant. So, as regards the elementary education of girls, my experience unfortunately is that there is no room for progress and, if the Government have been able to show some increase in the number of girls attending schools, it is in spite of the Government's policy. It is due, as has been forcibly put by the Deputy President, to the desire on the part of the public at large, both Hindus and Muhammadans, to have the advantage of education for their girls. If the Government takes early steps to revise the curriculum of female education, there is no doubt whatever that there will be a very large number of girls attending the schools, both secondary and elementary.

" Sir, the question of compulsory education has been thrown to the winds and is played with as a toy. Whenever this question is referred to in this House, the hon. Minister gets up and says that the Finance Department says that it will cost 7 crores, but that his opinion is that it will cost 12 crores. So according to him there is not going to be introduced the system of primary and compulsory education in the near future. Is it not the duty of this Government to curtail expenditure in other directions and find money for this purpose? Is it not the duty of the seven Members representing the Government to appeal to the Government of India to make some contribution for this purpose? We

[Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar] [20th March 1929

have often been told especially at the time of Coronation that the Government of India would bear their own share of the burden if free and compulsory education was introduced. In this direction this Government have not done anything at all.

" As regards the midday meal, again, the hon. the Minister will say that it is a question of cost. Does he know what is being done in this connexion in the small State of Cochin ? There midday meal is given to boys and girls. If in Cochin they can provide midday meal to elementary school children, why should this big Government capable of spending over 17 crores of rupees, plead inability to do the same thing ? Especially in the case of Adi-Dravida children when we insist upon their compulsorily attending the schools it is necessary that some provision should be made for midday meal. One great objection in the villages for compulsory education is that the boys and girls belonging to the depressed classes would not find their parents at home when they go home for midday meals and therefore would have to go without meal. The parents would have gone for work and would not return till the evening. If midday meal is provided for these children there would not be any objection to compulsory education.

" In this connexion I would refer also to night schools. It is an undoubted fact that in our province a large percentage of the adult population is illiterate. By concentrating on children's education we are likely to forget this problem. The immediate necessity is to prevent waste of money in litigation and other things by the illiterate adults. We can do this only by making large grants to night schools where these people can be given some education. The Government will probably say that the night schools are now large in number and that progress in this direction is fairly satisfactory. But I say that the complaint in my district where I am interested in a large number of night schools is that the authorities do not give sufficient help to maintain these night schools. The school inspectors who go to inspect them once a year sometimes say that these schools exist only in the imagination of people, except when they visit the villages. If these inspectors find scanty attendance at these schools on account of harvest or on account of some festival, they at once conclude that the schools are not satisfactory. That is not the way to treat the attempt of a large number of people to start night schools. No doubt the Government have increased the percentage of grant to be given to these night schools. But I would ask them to go a step further and take the management of the night schools in their own hands, at best pay the whole of the teachers' salaries. That is one of the crying needs of the day. Unless the percentage of literacy among the adult masses is increased by means of these night schools there is no hope of spreading education among the masses in the near future.

" As regards the University education I believe my hon. Friend the Member for the University will deal with it satisfactorily. But there also, the Government are starving both the Andhra and Madras Universities for some reason or other. Our misfortune in this respect is that our Minister is a very intelligent man. I wish that he was not as intelligent as he is. If he was less intelligent he would have understood the view point of others and would not have risen in his place and said 2 and 2 make 5 and went on to justify it with his Doctorship of the Dublin University. Sir, as regards the whole education question the House is unanimous in its demand for speedy progress. I appeal to the Minister to rise equal to the occasion and instead of asking us to wait till the

20th March 1929] [Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar]

waves in the ocean stop rolling, to say that he has decided to take some definite steps. I hope, Sir, my appeal to him will not be in vain as our appeals to the Government generally prove to be in vain."

* Mr. V. I. MUNISWAMI PILLAI :—" Sir, if I rise on this occasion it is not to make destructive criticism on the policy pursued by the Government, but to congratulate the Minister for the efforts he has made to improve the lot of the depressed classes. When the provincial autonomy question was discussed on the floor of this House, Sir, I said that universal education must proceed universal franchise, that is, adult franchise. Recently, I came to know that only 1·9 per cent of the depressed classes were literate, etc. Time and again the various parties in this House and outside have been levelling charges against the depressed classes for not joining with them. I would ask them in this connexion whether a community with only 1·9 per cent literates among its members could join them when their percentage of literacy is more than 5 or 6 per cent. Recently, I know the Education department has started a scheme of compulsory education in some of the districts. Unfortunately the depress- 4-30
ed classes due to their economic conditions cannot take advantage of the equal p.m.
opportunities or the equal benefits afforded to them. As rightly pointed out by my hon. Friend Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar the starvation stands in their way, and they cannot take advantage of the opportunities afforded to them. If I am asked whether primary education is to be made compulsory for the depressed classes, I would say there must be a special agency for inspection and supervision and also to special facilities for the depressed classes. As rightly pointed out by my hon. Friend, Mr. Raman Menon, this difficulty is more clearly seen in Malabar than in other districts and special arrangements are to be made for these people.

" Another point that needs the attention of the hon. the Minister for Education is to safeguard the lives of elementary teachers in some districts. Recent events in Salem district go to show that the lives of teachers in primary schools are in danger. Some of the district and taluk board members who go about the schools require the teachers thereof to stand up and salute. In the ordinary course of events a teacher is expected to teach the children and not to look outside as to who is going about, and salute them. In regard to the recent incident at Salem, of course, the culprits have been brought to book. Apart from this I may say that several school buildings have been burnt and the personal property of teachers has been stolen. I think the time has come when proper safeguards should be given to these teachers.

" Some months back the hon. the Educational Minister was kind enough to invite some of the representatives of the depressed classes, the Labour Commissioner and the Secretary to the Law Department in order to formulate a scheme whereby the schools now conducted by the labour department may be brought under the control of the local boards. After going round the districts and discussing this matter with the people in the villages I have been convinced that if this is done it will be a step in the wrong direction and will not be to the advantage of the depressed classes. As I have pointed out the depressed class teachers are oppressed by caste Hindus and if labour schools are to be brought under the local boards there will be more oppression and there will be a stop in the progress.

" In the district the scholarships that are given to the depressed classes are not adequate. I know that in my own district only very few students are given scholarships. For the total population of the depressed classes in the

various districts the scholarships that are given are not at all in any proportion. Some of the depressed class students after coming out successful in the School Final Examination cannot take up collegiate studies owing to their economic condition. No doubt they apply to the Educational department for scholarships but it takes months for them to know whether they have been granted scholarships or not. Consequently many of them have to go away without taking themselves to collegiate courses.

" As already pointed out by Mrs. Muthulakshmi Reddi about the education of girls I need not add much. But still there is the cry that the stipends now offered are very low and special facilities have to be given. If real work is to be turned out I again stress that there must be a special agency for inspection of schools that are conducted for the depressed classes. I know that at present the deputy inspectors are asked to inspect and supervise the working of the various schools, and they have to inspect more than 75 schools every year and there is hardly time for them to go and inspect even one school efficiently. If such is the case of inspecting agencies, who else can give the requisite attention to the needs of the depressed classes ?

" Coming to adult education I think special facilities must be afforded to the non-official public so that they may take some interest to make propaganda among the illiterate masses about the necessity of education. I think if these facilities were to be offered to the depressed classes there may be some hope for them to take part in the body politic."

* Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan :—" I must say at the outset that the policy that has been pursued with regard to the education of the depressed classes in this Presidency has not been of the right type, even considering that Government have been spending more and more money for higher education than they ought to have done. Some hon. members of this House have drawn the attention of the Government to this matter. The Government are anxious to see that a large number of highly qualified teachers are brought into existence by opening not only colleges for the training of teachers but also by bringing into existence new universities. For this purpose the Government have brought into existence the two universities, one at Chidambaram and the other in Andhradesa. I say, Sir, we have enough number of teachers to see that elementary education is spread throughout this province and it is made free and compulsory. Sir, in connexion with elementary education, I must say that Government must change their policy with regard to the qualification and training of teachers. The teachers that are employed now in schools do not possess the necessary qualifications. Their education is not enough for them to teach. They are themselves in the position of being taught. In my opinion—and I dare say that experts in education will also agree with me —that one of the essential pre-requisite of education is that we must lay the foundation more strongly. It is a wrong policy to think that children in their tender age should be entrusted to the charge of unqualified and incompetent teachers. Therefore, Sir, in the matter of primary education Government must see that the teachers that are employed possess qualifications as high as possible. Even if they are trained graduates I dare say it would be much better. Opinions have been advanced that with regard to elementary education especially of children, boys and girls, under the age of 10 or 12 it would be preferrable to employ qualified lady teachers in preference to men teachers. I think that would be a proper thing to do. I am sure that education among women has advanced enough to make it possible for

Government to secure a large number of highly qualified lady teachers throughout the province for the purpose of substituting women teachers in place of men teachers.

"With regard to the kind of education that is given in our schools, I say our education in arts has advanced sufficiently. We need not spend more money in the matter of higher education. I say, Sir, that Government must devote more attention to the spread of technical and technological education in our province. That side of education has been neglected by the Government. One of the greatest educationists has stated that if we abandon our education in arts even for 50 years, we will not be the losers. What we want to-day is scientific education, education in applied sciences, so that we may be able to advance better materially.

"With regard to secondary education, it would be shocking to note that whereas for European education this Government spends to the extent of Rs. 21 per head, they spend only As. 10 for Indian education. This is a deplorable state of affairs. I do not know why this disparity should exist and why should such a large sum of money be spent on European education and such a paltry sum on Indian education. I hope the Government will look into this matter carefully and see what could be done to improve matters.

"With regard to Muslim education in this province, I must say that sooner a non-official committee of this Council is appointed to go into this question and report upon the same the better. A notice of such a motion has already been given. I have examined very many places in this province and I found that though the municipalities are anxious to see that compulsory elementary education is spread in their area, because of the fact that they are not aware of the necessities of the Muslim community they have not been able to give sufficient attention to Muslim education. I know in Chingleput district alone there are no schools for the Muhammadan children in many places. In some villages there are schools for children where Tamil is being taught. In view of the fact that the vernacular of the Muslim children is Urdu, separate schools for them have not been opened in many of the villages in the Chingleput district. This is not the case of one district alone, but it is the case throughout the Presidency.

"I know there are some districts where compulsion is introduced and schools are thrown open for Hindu and Muslim boys and girls. But the municipalities are aware that there is such a provision in the Act which says no Muslim boys or girls should be compelled to go to a school unless provision is made there for their religious instruction. The municipalities take advantage of this provision and they refrain from opening schools and thus they do not compel Muslim boys and girls to go to schools. In view of these considerations I think the sooner the non-official committee is appointed to survey Muslim education in this province, the better.

"With regard to the Muhammadan college in the city, I must say that 4-45
this Government have done something in the direction of improving that p.m.
college. First of all, they have provided in this year's budget for the extension of the buildings of the college; secondly, they have made provision for sending three lecturers of the Muhammadan College for getting higher education in London so that they might come back and take up the teaching of higher courses in the college itself.

[Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan] [20th March 1929

"With regard to the education of Muslim girls, the state of affairs is far from satisfactory. Our Deputy President has already referred to that question. For the last two years I have been bringing to the notice of this Government the want of another high school for Muslim girls in the city. There is one such high school, the Hobart High School which is located in one part of the city. It is absolutely impossible for Muslim girls from all parts of the city to go to that school especially in view of the fact that the Muslim community is comparatively poor. I brought this matter to the notice of the Deputy Directress. She undertook to place this matter before the Government. I do not know, Sir, whether that proposal was placed before the Government and what the Government have done in the matter.

"Sir, with regard to the Superintendentship of the Hobart High School, last year it was possible for us with great difficulty to get a Muslim lady with very high qualifications, England-returned, to apply for the Superintendentship of that High school. I do not know who is responsible for her application being practically thrown into the waste paper basket. The hon. Minister for Education is anxious to help the Muslim community by appointing that lady. I do not know if he has been prevented by the educational authorities under him. I do not want to disclose these things; but I am afraid, Sir, that the Deputy Directress was, for various reasons, known to herself, is not pleased to place this proposal before the Government.

"With regard to scholarships, I am afraid, Sir, that the policy of the Government has not been towards helping the Muslim community to the extent to which they ought to help. Scholarships are given to a number of communities who are not sufficiently advanced in the matter of education. The Muslim community has been regarded as a community which is not advanced in the matter of education; the number of scholarships that are given to Muslim boys and girls is not enough.

"I think the Government are now going to increase the number of Deputy Directors. There are only two now and I think they are going to add one more. If it is for looking after elementary education in this province, I must say that it is a move in the right direction. But I must bring to the notice of the Government this fact that out of four or five officers in the office of the Director of Public Instruction, the Director, Deputy Director and the Deputy Directress, there is not even one Muslim. I say, Sir, that there ought to be one Muslim in the Director's office, because it is only there that they come to know of the realities and the educational needs of the community in the province. Therefore unless a Mussalman is there to look after the interests of Muslim education, they will not be able to follow the policy of Muslim education in the right direction.

"With regard to Mappilla education, I must say that that community is one which deserves the most careful consideration of the Government. If I repeat here in this Council the claim of the Muslim community with regard to education, I do so deliberately, because we in this Presidency will not advance a step further unless we take the communities which are backward in education, along with us. It is with a view to bring these backward communities to the level of the most advanced communities, that I say that emphasis must be laid on this point. With regard to Mappilla education, no doubt the Government appointed a special officer to look after the education of that community. But

the fact remains that that gentleman is not an independent officer. He is only a subordinate of the District Educational Officer of Malabar. Inasmuch as he is only a subordinate officer responsible to the District Educational Officer his hands are tied and he is not able to initiate any policy for the progress of Muslim education in Malabar. Unless he is made an independent officer answerable only to the Director of Public Instruction, I am sure he will not be able to do anything to advance Muslim education in Malabar. Although I do want that Muslim education should be reserved or it should be made a separate branch as the European education, it is my conviction that, with a view to advance the education of the Muslim community, it is necessary that the Government should appoint a special officer, a Muslim District Educational Officer, to look after their education, in this province.

"With regard to the reorganization scheme which has been under the consideration of the Government, I hope they will see that no injustice is done to any community. I hope they will see that all the communities in this province will have their due share when the reorganization scheme is brought into effect."

* Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar :—"Mr. President, Sir, my object in speaking on this subject is to offer some helpful criticism to the hon. the Minister for Education. As hon. Members of this House are aware, Sir A. P. Patro introduced the Madras University Bill with a view to make the University a teaching and residential one. This was followed by the Andhra University Act and all the colleges in the Andhra districts were cut away from the jurisdiction of the Madras University with the prospect of having, very soon, a teaching and residential university. Then, thirdly, there was a demand for a Tamil University and I know that the then Development Minister paid a visit to Trichinopoly, presided over a very enthusiastic meeting of Tamilians and gave hopes that the scheme would very soon materialize. The Tamil University Committee was also constituted ; but unfortunately some centres were not very eager and willing to take up the burden of having a university within four or five years. At this juncture that great philonthropist Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar, happened to give a large sum for the purpose of having a teaching and residential University. It was but natural that the hon. Minister should jump at that opportunity and welcome that grant and have a Tamil University started at Chidambaram. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiyar is willing not only to develop the literary and scientific courses but also oriental culture. He has a good oriental institute attached to Sri Meenakshi College. It will not be difficult for him to encourage oriental studies also. If I remember right, the chief intention of the members of the Tamil districts was that a separate Tamil University was necessary for the promotion of Tamil culture and Tamil language. Therefore now that a great benefactor has come forward and is willing to develop the oriental side, especially Tamil culture in his teaching University, I think the hon. Minister has more or less realized the wishes of the Tamil districts in this regard. But, Sir, a difficulty yet remains to be overcome. The fact that we have a Tamil University at one corner of the Tamil area makes it imperative and necessary for a long time that the Madras University should exercise its affiliating functions over all the colleges scattered over the southern districts of the Madras Presidency. As regards the Andhra University, I remember that, as one who took part in the deliberations of the Andhra University Committee—if there was one fact which was very clear, it was the general desire to have a teaching

[Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar] [20th March 1929

and residential university, though my hon. Friends from the Andhra districts were not in a position to agree with regard to the locality or the centre of the university. Therefore when the committee recommended that Anantapur should be the centre, they expressed their determination that there ought to be a teaching and residential university; it was no matter in which part of the Andhra desa that university was located. That was how I understood the voting of the committee. Here again, we find the hon. Minister already arranging to have the university located at a certain place. That is quite in consonance with the resolution of that Andhra University Committee. But I will earnestly press upon his attention the desirability of seeing that almost all the colleges in the Andhra districts are somehow or other affiliated to the university by having an external side set up in this university to discharge the functions of affiliation. Although I am not an Andhra, I for one can understand the desire, can sympathetically enter into and share the sentiments of my Andhra friends who do not like to see Andhra desa divided, one residential, teaching university functioning in one corner of the affiliation of all their colleges to the Madras University. The Madras University has already a great deal of affiliating functions to discharge and it has to exercise supervision over so many colleges scattered over the length and breadth of the southern districts, and I do not think it fair that it should be burdened with this function of seeing to the affiliation and supervision of the colleges in the Andhra desa. The Andhra desa, for educational purposes and for university education purpose, is and ought to be always a distinct and separate unit and in whatever part of Andhra desa the teaching and residential university is started, it must have an external side attending to these functions of affiliation.

" Sir, I now come to secondary education. I am really very sorry that the recommendations made by the Secondary Education Committee have not yet seen the light of day, have not after the lapse of five years taken shape and have not, in any manner, been given effect to. The object of hon. Members of this House in advocating that secondary education should be a distinct unit by itself and should be an immediate preparation for life was to make secondary education in our province what it is in countries like Germany and France. Take Germany. The German gymnasium immediately prepares students for life. Some proceed to universities; the vast majority of the students join professional colleges or technical colleges or other institutions which equip them for life ; . ."

The hon. the PRESIDENT :—" The House will now adjourn and re-assemble to-morrow at 11 a.m."

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,
Secretary to the Legislative Council.